AN ESSAY ON DEFENSIVE WAR, AND A CONSTITUTIONAL MILITIA;

WITH AN ACCOUNT OF

QUEEN ELIZABETH's Arrangements for resisting the projected Invasion in the Year 1588, taken from authentic Records in the British Museum, and other Collections.

K

BY AN OFFICER. Cap: Dowd

"You that be Lieutenants and Gentlemen of Com-
"mand in your Counties, I require you to take
"care, *That the People be well armed, and in*
"*readiness upon all Occasions*,"

Queen Elizabeth's Speech to both Houses of Parliament.

LONDON:
Printed for T. EVANS, in the Strand; J. ROBSON, New Bond-street; and J. SEWELL, Cornhill.
M.DCC.LXXXII.

B L

PREFACE.

TO rouſe the ſlumbering ſpirit of the nation, and awaken its attention to the dangers which ſurround it, conſtitute the deſign of this Eſſay.—Not only the probable chance of an invaſion, but even its poſſibility ſhould be adverted to and guarded againſt.—The prevention of miſchief is at all times a wiſer plan than ſeeking remedies for it; and as far as human reaſon can extend its foreſight amidſt the deliriums of ſtatesmen, it ſeems unlikely that any power on earth would venture the raſh attempt

of invading this country, when ſyſtematically prepared for defence.

From men of obſervation, it will be no unwelcome compliment to hear, that this work contains nothing new. It has never wandered amongſt the ſhadowy landſcapes of imagination, or philoſophized through the magic lanthorn of hypotheſis. A conciſe ſtate of an intereſting ſubject, referred to immutable principles, is all its merit. Few perhaps can apply to their own reflection without finding the ſame principles, often more refined. But if it poſſeſs the luck of referring the reader to the ſtores of his own reaſon, it will anſwer the beſt purpoſe of many a better book.—Written in a camp, it has no claims to correctneſs or elegance of compoſition. Other occupations have prevented ſubſequent improvements, and for a time deſtroyed all idea of making it public. The account of Queen Elizabeth's

beth's arrangements have however been ſince added, through the aſſiſtance of a diſtinguiſhed literary character; and this part of the work, at leaſt, demands attention. For the reſt, I am too doubtful of its merits to hazard a name, even of no importance.

The preſſing ſituation of affairs calling it forth at the inſtant, have prevented my taking advantage of Horace's counſel; therefore in its preſent ſtate it is confided to the generoſity of a nation, whoſe deareſt intereſts it concerns.

CON-

CONTENTS.

PReliminary Diſcourſe,—Proſpect of Invaſion, - - - page 1

CHAP. II. *Hiſtoric View of the Principles of defenſive War.* - - 20

CHAP. III. *Internal Arrangements of England in former Periods.* - 46

CHAP. IV. *General Idea of Defence;—Utility of Aſſociation.* - - 104

CHAP. V. *On the Militia,* - - 152

APPENDIX, - - - - 203

Errata.

Page	Line	*For*	*Read*
2	5 From the top	natural	national
2	25 do.	reſiſt	reſort
3	22 do.	toils	toil
7	19 do.	of	and
8	7 do.	neutral	natural
16	15 do.	was here turned	was turned
19	1 do.	them	it
35	9 do.	their	theſe
53	4 do.	natural	national
85	8 do.	is	are
108	19 do.	they	there
113	10 do.	in its execution	in execution
114	4 do.	of	and
116	5 do.	would	ſhould
117	7 do.	*dele* to be	
118	8 do.	with the illuſtrious dignified names	dignified with the illuſtrious names
118	24 do.	prints	points
118	24 do.	he	the
119	13 do.	all	alone
127	19 do.	legiſlature	legiſlation
132	10 do.	army	array
142	23 do.	even	ever
144	11 do.	from	form
158	22 do.	parade, etiquette	parade-etiquette
161	8 do.	is	in
161	10 do.	perverts	pervert
162	2 do.	uſuage	uſage
163	10 do.	is carried on	is ſometimes carried on
174	10 do.	extremeties	extremities
175	14 do.	is not	be not
193	7 do.	conſtantly in quarters	conſtantly preſent
194	21 do.	natural defence	national defence
196	14 do.	natural ſtrength	national ſtrength
197	1 do.	contemptable	contemptible
198	6 do.	principles	principle
199	14 do.	thus	then

PRELIMINARY DISCOURSE.

PROSPECT OF INVASION.

CHAP. I.

WHEN the exigencies of a great nation have driven her to ſeek ſecurity inſtead of conqueſt; when every view of extending her commerce is loſt in its protection; when public credit is ſhaken to its baſe, and public wealth exiſts but in avoiding bankruptcy, then reflection becomes the virtue of neceſſity, and ſhe looks around for thoſe expedients which her ſituation requires and her reſources furniſh. At war with her colonies, deſerted by her allies, and menaced by the moſt powerful combination of hoſtile neighbours, it is from herſelf alone ſhe can derive protection. What-

ever means of internal defence nature has beſtown muſt be called into action. Induſtry and ſcience are the ſprings of motion; the mechanic powers which combine and invigorate the vaſt bulk of natural defence, and erect an impregnable fortreſs from an inert maſs of wonderful materials. For in vain are theſe furniſhed by the bounteous hand of Providence, if our workmen are unſkilful in their employ, or no architect has traced a deſign for the fabric. The hour of danger can ſpare few moments to cool reflection, ſtill leſs can it digeſt its plans to ſage maturity. Projects inſtantaneouſly conceived, raſhly adopted, and incorrectly executed, are the natural offspring of ſurpriſe; confuſion ſupplants every idea of regular diſpoſition; and uncertainty, the darkneſs of the mind, like that of the univerſe, doubles every danger that actually exiſts, and creates new phantoms of its own. But the nation that in time of tranquility prepares for a deſcent has little to fear from it; every advance of the invader produces ſome defenſive advantage; every inhabitant knows at the inſtant where to reſiſt, and how to conſtitute

ſtitute a part of national ſtrength, inſtead of being a ſharer in national confuſion. That theſe obſervations are well founded may be gathered from the unvarying records of a thouſand hiſtories, which enable us to anticipate good conduct by referring to the fate of others; and if experience be the common-ſenſe of memory, foreſight is the prophetic inſpiration of wiſdom. A nation unarranged cannot reſiſt. Martial exerciſes are inſufficient without ſome general ſyſtem of employing them. If the whole country armed it cannot be more military than the *Romans* were; and yet they ſuffered heavily when invaded by *Hannibal*, merely from not having previouſly adopted ſome plan of defence; half their reſources were thrown away before they diſcovered how to employ the reſt. The ſmall alarm occaſioned in this kingdom by remote ideas of invaſion is matter of curious ſpeculation; but with whatever avidity the man of obſervation enters on the toils, it will afford the thankleſs harveſt of melancholy reflection. Inſtead of that ſolid confidence derived from well concerted plans, frequently,

practiſed, and thence expertly executed, he will find the nation lulled by abſurdities almoſt too groſs to mention. On the coaſts he will be told that an invaſion has been threatened every year of every war in their own time and in their fathers, but as it has not yet happened they have given over expecting it. The inland counties conceive their diſtance from the ſea a ſufficient protection: ſome reckon upon the numbers who will arm around them, while others more illiberal, though hardly more ridiculous, are happy to deſpiſe the perſonal courage of their enemies, and really expect a dozen Engliſhmen to diſmay a battalion.

Abſurd and painful as this is to recount, it is but too faithful a portraiture of national prejudice. No man ſtands forth and tells you he is not alarmed becauſe a fleet inured to victory protects our coaſts, or that the arrangements of the kingdom are ſuch that an army actually landed could not penetrate; that forage would be carried off, roads deſtroyed, and bridges broken down with ſuch expedition

dition in the midſt of an armed peaſantry, that no invader could by any poſſibility exiſt half the time neceſſary to vanquiſh ſuch obſtructions.

Such is the language of reaſon, and whenever it becomes general in England, the word *invaſion* may be obliterated from our dictionaries. New *Alexanders* may overrun the globe, and every neighbouring ſtate become a prey to conqueſt, while this nation ſhall retain an undiſturbed tranquility amidſt the wreck of empires. When this enviable ſecurity is pointed out as what ſound policy may ſtill procure, there are not many, who, from a candid view of the very altered predicament a few late years have placed us in, can diſcern what cauſes had hitherto rendered invaſions impracticable, and how far they have now ceaſed to operate. The ſcene, however gloomy, may be inſtructive, and a few lines will review it. His preſent Majeſty aſcended the throne of theſe realms under every poſſible advantage a young and generous prince could wiſh for. His victorious arms were on every ſide rendering

ing him reſpectable abroad, and poſſeſſed of all the warmeſt wiſhes of his ſubjects, he reigned ſecurely in their hearts at home. He ſaw himſelf at once the arbitrer of Europe, the ſupreme magiſtrate of the happieſt government, and the idol of all its inhabitants. He ſaw his commerce improved, his territories enlarged, his ſubjects enriched, and the proſpect of a ſpeedy advantageous peace to ſecure theſe bleſſings in undiſturbed enjoyment. With what heart-felt joy might this ſcene be expiated on, and what reluctant language traces its reverſe. The great, the perpetuated, the fatal error originated in falſe notions of regal power, and a ſuppoſition that the greatneſs of a king could exiſt independent of the wellfare of the ſubject. This was a long exploded opinion, often revived, and as often confuted, but it preſented advantages too immediate, and proſpects too ſpeciouſly alluring not to be tenaciouſly adhered to when once adopted. Amidſt all the prevalence of paſſion, it required great energy of ſoul and manly reaſoning to diſtinguiſh between abſolute and real power: yet there is a very marked diſtinction interwoven between them

them in the nice texture of our matchleſs conſtitution, whence they derive ſuch an inverſe relation, that the one can hardly be augmented without proportionably leſſening the other. This alſo is no modern diſcovery, ſince a great ſtateſman long ago obſerved, in expreſſions too ſtrong not to uſe his own language, *Quand un Roi d'Angleterre eſt l'homme de ſon peuple c'eſt le plus grand Roi du monde; véut il etre plus! il n'eſt rien.*

Notwithſtanding the aweful puniſhment and ultimate failure of all encroachments on the nation's rights in earlier days, ſuch attempts were now inceſſantly repeated, and the court revolted into open rebellion againſt the people.

This, however, was not an age in which the iron graſp of power was uſhered with gigantic ſtrides of ſavage countenance. Confiſcation and proſcription were unknown; juſtice between individuals was fairly adminiſtred; and no private oppreſſions extorted a complaint from injured innocence. The attacks

tacks on the conſtitution itſelf were from maſked batteries, and a ſecret undermining influence was deſtroying that fabric by ſap which ten thouſand *Machiavelian* armies would have been repulſed from in attempting to ſtorm. The fate of other empires teaches us to expect a period to our political as well as neutral exiſtence; and as the ſtones on the ſea beach, from conſtantly rolling together, acquire a like figure, ſo it is probable we are too much aſſimilated in manners and opinions with the nations round, to be long poſſeſſed of any ſuperiority in the form of government. It is not neceſſary here to ſpecify the mournful catalogue of events which ſtain our annals, or to dwell upon their having ariſen from increaſe of *influcuce*, the only engine a mild and gracious prince could employ to change a conſtitution.

But it muſt be obſerved that the nation, not entering into the neceſſity of alteration and averſe to innovation, however mildly introduced, ſeemed to recollect that the high rank it held in the ſcale of empires was owing

owing to ſomething more than its ſoil, extent, or ſituation, and wiſhed to preſerve its greatneſs by every advantage that had conſpired to raiſe it; hence this growing influence was watched with jealous eyes, and the extreme unpopularity of their meaſures ſoon occaſioned an oſtenſible change in the king's firſt miniſters, and whether the very ſame men ſecretly continued to preſide, is perfectly immaterial to the public, whoſe feelings continued to be outraged, and whoſe rights to be violated by the unaltered predominancy of unconſtitutional meaſures.—Univerſal diſcontent occaſioned new arrangements, ſucceſſive adminiſtrations were repeatedly formed and diſcarded with indecent rapidity: always accelerated by any untractable virtue of their conſtituent members. The principles of one man, the integrity of another were inſurmountable diſqualifications whenever they intruded, and it employed ſeveral years to pack a compleat miniſtry from the dregs of every party; however the plan was at length moſt diabolically effected, and *Lord North* ſtood forth the Lucifer of the Pandæmonium.

A powerful oppoſition raiſed againſt this junto at home engaging all their attention, the preſervation of themſelves became the firſt object of their care; for this purpoſe, they went all lengths to ſecure the royal countenance, by making common cauſe to ſcreen proceedings which were ſeldom right, under the ſanction of that power which *can do no wrong*; thus by artfully amalgamating them together, the popularity of the moſt beloved ſovereign alloyed with the deteſtation of his miniſters, reduced both almoſt below the common currency of daily expenditure; and by ſhifting off all reſpoſibility among themſelves, the public odium became indiviſible and fell in the lump: even the private virtues of their maſter were eternally called in to ballance their negative qualities, and ſwell their intolerable demands. Revered as theſe virtues were, men prudently obſerved, that to entruſt a monarch with the power to deſtroy, becauſe he had the will to ſave, would be like infecting a nation with the plague, becauſe there was a phyſician likely to cure it.

In vain then did individuals murmur, and the kingdom at large follow petitions by remonſtrances. The parliament which *Bacon* and *Monteſquieu* had foreboded as the only certain ruin to this conſtitution, was now wholly devoted to the crown, and with a little variance of form held its beds of juſtice but to regiſter the edicts of the cabinet; ſome eſpecial ceremonies of ancient days were indeed preſerved, for the minority *ſaid* what they pleaſed, as compleatly as the miniſters *did it*.—When reaſon, ſtubborn fact, [illegible] public utility are to be ſurmounted in grave debate, ſome ſterling argument muſt be adduced to preponderate the buoyant ſcale; for this the baneful ſyſtem of corruption (too ſucceſsfully employed by the able hands of *Sir Robert Walpole* ever to be totally relinquiſhed) offered the deciding authority; it became the mode, the regular official mode of governing, pervading all ranks, and extending over all ſects: electors and elected ſuffered the ſame infection, which like the plague of *Egyptian* darkneſs, overſpread the face of the realm; it was the algebraic character that applied to all problems; the uni-

verſal menſtruum of opinion, and had that other chemical ſecret, the philoſophers ſtone been joined to it, twice as many deſtinies as ever covered *Troy* could not have preſerved this nation from deſtruction. But the higheſt exertions of human ingenuity have their limits, for bribery itſelf is neither an art or a ſcience, ſcarce even what mechanics call a craft, it is ſo obvious to the meaneſt capacity that a baby may perform it as fortunately as a politician; and if it has been ſo ſucceſsfully practiſed by Punch at an election, it were an ill compliment to ſuppoſe our miniſters leſs dexterous. Ufortunately, however, corruption although it may claim the attributes of omnipotence and infallibility, is none of thoſe ſelf-dependent beings which are co-eval with eternity, and promiſe an equal duration. Unfortunately, I ſay, bribery hath its dependencies, and when places had been multiplied and honours proſtituted, till they even loſt their nature, money was found to be the firſt great cauſe, the eſſence and the ſoul of modern government. To procure this plentifully from a nation already overwhelmed with enormous

debts,

ſeemed beyond the power of this great agent itſelf, which could no longer prey upon its own bowels and be at once effect and cauſe.—Hence the cabinet were driven to explore diſtant ſhores for that golden harveſt which an impoveriſhed ſoil too ſparingly afforded.——An oppoſition, reſpectable from its number, from its conſequence, and more ſo from the characters of thoſe who compoſed it, was to be contended with; and money was the artillery to be employed on ſuch a ſervice.—The laviſh expenditure, compleat miſmanagement, and infamous peculation of the public treaſure had almoſt annihilated any ſuch exiſtence, more however was neceſſary to be procured, and if poſſible without aggravating the feelings of a nation already oppreſſed.—Neceſſity adds wings to the wickedneſs of invention; and the mad project of obtaining a revenue from *America* became the fruitful mother of our preſent misfortunes. In vain were memory, wiſdom and prudence invoked to avert the attempt. Juſtice alſo was appealed to, but ſhe ruled only the politics of *Utopia*, while expediency ſupplanted the very word in miniſterial gloſſaries.—

The

The colonies petitioned, the patriots harangued, the nation murmured, but the Premier carried every meaſure he propoſed; theſe too were ſuggeſted by ſuch re-iterated madneſs, ſuch extravagance of folly, and ſuch a fatality of error, as chance alone could hardly have effected; there appeared to be ſome talent, ſome faculty of blundering, that muſt have exceeded the belief of our anceſtors had it been foretold, and will ſtagger the faith of poſterity, when recorded. That meaſures wickedly adopted were weakly executed might eaſily be imagined, but ſurely ſome dæmon muſt have ſhaken his baneful pinions over the council board, if every thing operated exactly contrary to their intentions. When the miniſter ſtruck at wealth, national beggary was the reſult. His endeavours to divide *America*, united the whole continent. His ſhutting up their ports deſtroyed half the commerce of *England* and ruined the *Weſt Indies*.—His witholding our merchandize eſtabliſhed new manufactures for themſelves; his reſtraining their fiſheries, manned their navy; his burning their villages, recruited their army; and his attempt at uncon-

conditional ſubmiſſion, promiſes to terminate in unlimited independence.

Theſe are the outlines filled by a thouſand minuter parts equally aſtoniſhing, equally exceeding all other tablatures of hiſtoric narrative; whoſe very exiſtence like that of our own being can hardly be demonſtrated but by the immediate evidence of the ſenſes.

From this view of our political ſituation, we immediately deduce the war with the Houſe of *Bourbon*, and the conſequential ideas of invaſion which have given birth to this Eſſay; for ſurely the unravelling that clue which led us into danger, is no unſeaſonable enquiry towards extricating us from it.—— If a brave and gallant army have been devoted in *America*, this nation amidſt all its diſtreſſes with grateful pity will commiſerate their feelings. The veteran who ſees himſelf the guardian of the people's liberties, joys to boaſt only thoſe ſcars acquired in the ſervice of his country. How few then are there who, without violence to themſelves, could relinquiſh

the

the moſt ſacred ties of ſociety, and arm their hands againſt thoſe very bleſſings, which as Men, and Engliſhmen, they had a right to ſhare.——A variance between duty and inclination was but a bad omen to ſtart with, and an army, impelled with reluctance to the field, where every generous paſſion impeded its career, was not likely to atchieve ſuch uncommon feats as the deſperate exigencies of the miniſter required.—It was not the ſtarving pittance of ſubſiſtence that had heretofore crowned our armies with immortal wreaths; every glorious incitement, evey potent ſtimulus, that actuated our great forefathers was here cut off, nay more, was [illegible]e turned againſt us.—To overrun a vaſt continent, and combat at once againſt numbers and againſt freedom, was too much even for *Britiſh* troops. —Whilſt our regiments were thus mouldering away, and waſting that matchleſs ſpirit, which muſt have dignified every other enterprize; the troops of *Bourbon* were ſedulouſly training for the long-meditated attack. In proportion as our army dwindled, theirs augmented. The inequality widened every hour, and

and while *America* is to be the ſink of our exertions, muſt ſtill increaſe.

Wrecked on the ſame fatal coaſt, our navy ſunk into ſimilar inferiority. That navy which for ages had hailed this iſland Empreſs of the Deep, and bound *Neptune*'s brows with the *Britiſh* flag; whoſe ſeamen were the very ſoul of audacity and enterpriſe; and whoſe officers with every martial virtue are not only the firſt in their own line, but excell in talents more admirably well adapted than any other ſcience can boaſt amongſt its profeſſors.—A ſad reverſe of fortune exhibited this fleet betrayed by higher powers into the neceſſity of unwilling flight. Thouſands of Engliſh ſubjects, from their windows beheld their own danger in their country's diſgrace; and execrations were liberally beſtowed on the marine miniſter, who after ruining a fleet by the vileſt jobs, had driven from the ſervice, the ableſt and braveſt officers, to whom the nation looked up as moſt capable of retrieving its uſurped domain. ——Miniſters had been too much occupied with their *American Manies*, and parliamentary

cabals at home, to caſt an obſervant eye on what was going forward abroad. Therefore the firſt Lord of the Admiralty, whenever warned by Oppoſition of foreign armaments, regularly exulted with conſummate confidenee in his own management, and repeatedly *pledged himſelf* that our navy ſhould be ſuperior to the Houſe of *Bourbon*.—The pawn was but a ſorry ſtake.—Facts turn out fatally reverſe.——Yet the ſame miniſter ſtill continues in ſpite of univerſal infamy, and receives the damning contradiction of events with an unbluſhing countenance.

The Proſpect of *Invaſion* ſtands therefore on very different grounds, from thoſe of the laſt war; when ſhielded by the powers of an unrivalled navy, *Great Britain* reſted in perfect ſecurity herſelf, while the whole world lay open to her arms. Leſs anxious for her own commerce, than reſolute to cruſh that of her enemies; the ocean was her own. Not a gale ruffled its boſom, but waſted riches to her merchants, or victory to her flag.—An almoſt undeviating ſeries of ſucceſs had familiariſed her

her to expect them, and ſcarce a ſingle ſail whitened the horizon of her ports without producing either wealth or conqueſt.—Her very bells acquired a monotony of pæans, but then her monarch was a whig, and *Pitt* was miniſter.—The ſovereign was content to reign by his people's wiſhes, and thoſe wiſhes made him the greateſt of monarchs.

Theſe are periods which agoniſing memory intrudes upon our feelings. Not to contraſt them with the preſent were impoſſible; and it is miſery to do ſo!———When the great ſcale of empires preponderated by the weight of *Britain*; when the wiſdom of her councils begat reſpect abroad, and confidence at home; then commerce increaaſed with conſequence; our territories were extended; our rents roſe; our manufactutes flouriſhed; our merchants were monarchs, and the ſovereign himſelf gloried to be diſtinguiſhed as *the Firſt Citizen of the freeſt State.*

CHAP. II.

Hiſtoric View of the Principles of Defenſive War.

A NECESSITY of preparing ſome general plan to repel invaſion cannot be too often inculcated.—Like the *Delenda eſt Carthago* of the Roman Patriot, it ſhould preface every page, and terminate every period. Without this, armies will in vain be diſciplined, and treaſures laviſhed. The nation, who in the hour of ſecurity procraſtinates the taſk of prudence, will find the moment of danger ill adapted to imbibe inſtruction. —From the phyſician who has his art to learn in the criſis of diſeaſe, the patient will ſcarce derive convaleſcence.

To

To point out the minute arrangements founded on the *forte* or *foible* of particular diſtricts, would be unwiſe in moſt inſtances, and impoſſible in many. Theſe muſt be the progeny of events; but the grand outlines of all defenſive war, contain no ſecrets for men of military obſervation.

To prevent an enemy actually on our coaſts from effecting a landing, ſeems in theſe times but an hopeleſs chance, if *Britain*'s navy is no longer able to protect her there. However, what our intrepid anceſtors have ſucceſsfully practiſed upon *Cæſar* himſelf, may at leaſt excite the imitation of their poſterity. Nor ſhould it be idly urged, that thoſe days of enthuſiaſtic freedom are no more, or that the form of a ſpruce enſign poſſeſſes none of the ſtern virtues which ſteeled the naked boſom of a *Pict*, and led him with brave defiance into the ocean itſelf to meet thoſe boaſted legions, formidable in diſcipline, and glowing with all the pride of conqueſt.—True it is, the poliſhed manners of this age wear a leſs rugged garb, but the gallantry of a Britiſh Soldier remains unſhaken.

unſhaken.—His ſoul confides in the ſame heroic principle. The ſame ſpark glows in his breaſt, and its emanations are reciprocally darted through the ranks of a battalion.—— The celeſtial flame which beams on the altar of liberty has at times been latent half an age, but has never failed to blaze with undiminiſhed luſtre, when events have called it forth.—Unextinguiſhed through all the viciſſitudes of time; bigottry, fanaticiſm, oppreſſion and luxury, have in vain attempted its deſtruction; even corruption, more baleful than them all, has failed in reiterated endeavours to ſubdue it.—To this hour it pervades the multitude, and we have no Romans now to contend with.—The preſent enemies of Britain poſſeſs no invincibility of diſcipline beyond ourſelves; no ſuperiority of arms which we are deſtitute of; no warlike engines tremendous in their effects, and doubly ſo by their novelty. But the conflict becomes really unequal when we conſider the immenſe advantages poſſeſſed by ourſelves. Moſt of theſe applying to military operations muſt be reſerved for another place. But the different

ſprings

ſprings of action which operate upon the human mind are of philoſophic conſideration and by no means to be diſregarded. Theſe controul the orbits of the paſſions, rouſe them to fly off in excentric tangents, or impel their gravitation towards reaſon.—Armies are compoſed of individuals whoſe diſtinct ſenſations become the aggregate ſoul of an expedition. —Let us generouſly attribute to an enemy the nobleſt motives, the love of glory and of conqueſt; principles too refined to animate the breaſt of every private ſoldier but in a faint degree; their objects are too remote for any permanent impreſſion: of the firſt his ſhare is the indiviſible fraction of an idea, from the latter he rarely derives any advantage whatever; ſince thoſe days are paſt when nations ſwarmed to ſeek a more auſpicious home, and every feudatory claiming his portion of glebe conquered for himſelf.

But let fame be their purſuit with all a general's ardour, no Engliſhman will allow his country an inferior impulſe, and if we are equal hitherto, what reſources remain in ſtore!

Our

Our liberties, our laws, our religion, our very being itſelf, will make that man an hero, who on minor occaſions had been only not a coward. Theſe are ſenſations within the reach of every one. Theſe offer to our ſenſes, tangible ſubſtantial good, and will rouze the honeſt citizen, who, with unſeduced admiration, had ſuffered glory to paſs on, ſmiling at the unreal advantage of her gilded viſions.

If the fond partner of a man's happier days ſhould look up to a huſband's arm for protection from foreign luſt, with miſery in her eye and anguiſh in her heart, where is he who would not brave a legion to defend her. If parental affection is doomed to ſtream over the mangled bodies of his infants, or to find them in the laſt agonies ſtretching out their little arms to embrace a father, who comes too late for any thing but torture; tell me, ye who read the human ſoul, will this man fly in the engagement of to-morrow?—If an helpleſs parent, a ſick friend, a beloved maiden remain a prey to cruelty in ſome deſerted village, will no feelings urge to vindicate their

their wrongs? Shall we ſee our houſehold gods themſelves, with the venerable manſions of our anceſtors devoted to the flames, without kindling as they burn?—No, my countrymen, we ſhall arm ourſelves on ſome ſacred ſpot, which with the birthright of liberty has been received from our forefathers; acquired by their virtue, it ſhall be maintained by ours, and with every hallowed privilege be tranſmitted to poſterity.—There, environed by our deareſt connexions, ſtimulated by love, duty, gratitude and juſtice, each village will be invincible to armies. Our laws and liberties depend on us and will be gallantly ſupported. Nay, there are fortreſſes conſecrated by enthuſiaſtic freedom to an impregnability beyond the adamantine walls of magic ſtory. *Britons* might unite in RUNNEYMEDE and brave the univerſe.

An energetic confidence thus built upon the nobleſt foundation, removes all anxiety for the ultimate event of an invaſion. No one dreams of *Norman conqueſts*, or permanent ſubjection; but to diminiſh the immediate

miſchief, to ſave our towns from being ſacked, our villages from being laid waſte, and our country from depopulation, are objects of no trifling importance.——All evils are better prevented than remedied; and this iſland cannot ſupport that procraſtination of defence, which a continent like *America* ſubmits to without ruin.—The ſyſtem is the ſame, but on a different ſcale. The wealth, the cultivation, the conſtitution itſelf, all offer inſurmountable objections againſt permitting extenſive inroads. Hazarding an engagement to prevent them, is, of all expedients, the moſt dangerous, and fortified places do not exiſt. —Multiplied obſtructions are the only reſource; and theſe are ſo abundantly ſufficient, that an enemy, who unmoleſted could almoſt threaten the capital in two days, might by them be effectually reſtrained from penetrating in any part above thirty miles from his own fleet.

Having obſerved that the internal parts of this iſland afford no fortifications to retard the progreſs of an enemy, the neceſſity of checking him by an engagement will obtrude itſelf upon

upon many, as it has too generally done during the late encampments. But every reaſoning principle and all the authorities of hiſtory unite to combat ſo fatal an error.

Whatever is moſt eſſential to the invader, the inhabitants ought ſtudiouſly to avoid. This is a *poſtulatum* which will readily be granted, and it will appear that to encounter the army of the country, muſt be the firſt object of every grand invaſion, for the partial inroads of buccaneering parties, or flying ſquadrons, have merely plunder and depredation in view inſtead of conqueſt. Nor could theſe have any poſſibility of exiſtence, if every maritime country were once aſſociated for its own defence, in the manner hereafter to be pointed out.

So long as the army of the country remains oppoſed to the invader, he can make no movements either with ſafety or effect. A line of poſts lengthening as he advances muſt be preſerved to ſecure a retreat whilſt there remains a chance of being defeated. Forage will

be, with difficulty, if at all, procured, and his army conſtantly harraſſed in a manner that muſt alone deſtroy it. But the oppoſing force once routed, all theſe diſadvantages vaniſh. He becomes maſter of the country; reconnoitres at eaſe its inmoſt receſſes; choice guides his marches, which before were governed by neceſſity, and his troops in unmoleſted confidence penetrate further in one day, than a month of inceſſant ſtruggles could have effected before. In ſhort, it is an inconteſtible fact, that an invader who defeats the army of the country never fails to accompliſh his purpoſe thereby; unleſs its object be remote enough to furniſh leiſure for aſſembling other levies conducted on wiſer principles.

Hiſtory is the ſureſt parent of juſt deciſion. Her leſſons are equally devoid of wild hypotheſis or vulgar error. To argue on what is to come, from that which has conſtantly happened, is preferable to the ſallies of fantaſtic imagination or the learned perplexities of refined theory; and when the ſoundeſt principles of reaſon apply to cauſes which have invariably

bly produced the ſame effects, they may fall ſhort of mathematical demonſtration, but will ſcarce impreſs leſs conviction. The inſtances thus furniſhed by memory are too numerous and too pointed to be ſilently paſſed over: leiſure and the aſſiſtance of a library might have improved the ſelection.

The important rank which *Carthage* formerly held in the ſcale of empires, and her connections with *Rome*, have attracted the attention of the moſt able hiſtorians, and alone afford the ampleſt harveſt of experience, without tracing her through the various petty inroads of *African* powers, those great invaſions in which ſhe bore a ſhare and which have been ſo faithfully related ſhall be the object of a ſhort diſcuſſion.——*Agathocles* foreſeeing advantages to be derived from making *Carthage* the ſeat of war, while their forces were occupied in the ſiege of his own capital, for the ſafety of which he was under no apprehenſions; embarked in perſon for the coaſt of *Africa*, where ſo unexpected a viſitor ſpread immediate conſternation.——*Carthage* however in the midſt of commerce

commerce was too opulent not to furniſh another army with great expedition. The modes of raiſing troops are in all countries objects of daily practice, and the preſence of an enemy only expedited their ſucceſs; for whenever plans are actually arranged, danger always promotes rapidity, and calls forth exertions. It ſeemed a proſperous omen that the levies thus raiſed, were at once ſent out ſuperior to the invader, thus far however the ſtate of *Carthage* had only been executing in war what it had been accuſtomed to in peace, and left no opening either for confuſion or error; but as the ſyſtem of reſiſting invaſions had never been deliberated on, it was not probable that this army ſhould at once adopt the proper line of conduct; it therefore liſtened to the firſt impulſe, fought a battle immediately, and being defeated, left the enemy maſter of the country with all its advantages, which ſoon led him to the gate of their capital. Without entering into the detail of operations it is ſufficient to obſerve, that repeated defeats and a total defect of ſyſtem expoſed the *Carthaginians* to all the ravages of the conqueror, nor was it till the

the fourth year of the war that they diſcovered their error, and adopted ſuch plans as could not have failed of ſucceeding on the very firſt landing of *Agathocles*, as compleatly as they did the moment they were put in practice; for at length the Senate of *Carthage*, compelled to wiſdom, divided their forces into three bodies, and after defeating ſome detachments ſent againſt them by the ſon of *Agathocles*, they blocked him up near *Tunis*; and the hiſtorian preciſely ſays all the paſſes and roads were ſecured to the diſtance of an hundred furlongs, whereby all ſupplies of proviſions were entirely cut off, and the invaders reduced to the certain defeat which famine muſt have atchieved: thus without hazard to themſelves, this ſalutary meaſure at once changed the face of the war, and he who had been conqueror in an hundred battles, ſaw himſelf at once vanquiſhed by the grave deliberations of a council, without a blow being ſtruck. An example like this is not to be neglected; it enforces beyond the logic of ten thouſand arguments. The ſequel of the hiſtory follows naturally. *Agathocles* himſelf arrived at the inſtant, he had hopes

hopes that an enemy whoſe want of ſyſtem he had long taken advantage of, were not grown compleatly wiſe, and endeavoured to entice them to a battle as heretofore; but the influence of madneſs and folly was paſt: the engagement was refuſed; and *Agathocles*, compelled to attack their entrenchments, was repulſed, his army mutinied, and at length ſurrendered. Himſelf after being put in irons, eſcaped under cover of darkneſs and confuſion.

The ſituation and conduct of the *Romans* in the ſecond *Punick* war is a recorded leſſon of the higheſt authority. Their ſubſequent conduct proves them to have been at firſt ſurpriſed without a ſyſtem. They hazarded battles and were defeated. *Hannibal* acquired allies with victories; and thus inſtead of being ſubject to the inconveniencies attending an invader, he poſſeſſed every requiſite to carry on the war on equal Terms. The *Romans* trembling for the very ſeat of empire, imputed their diſaſters to want of generalſhip in their commanders, nor was it till after their defeat

at

at *Thraſymene*, that they diſcovered their proceeding from want of ſyſtem in themſelves. From this period, the appointment and conduct of *Fabius* changed the face of the war during his command, but the battle of *Cannæ* loſt by his ſucceſſor again plunged his country into the extreme of miſery, and held forth to poſterity a warning which all their hiſtorians have dwelt upon, and which, but for *Hannibal*'s miſconduct giving time to reſtore the command to *Fabius*, had probably terminated in the deſtruction of the *Roman* greatneſs.

When *Alexander* entered the dominions of *Perſia*, one would think he depended on the natural character of his antagoniſts, and even that his taking with him a much ſmaller army than he might have done, was from a prudential foreſight of the hazards incurred from numbers.—As long as conqueſt attended him all would go well, and on any reverſe, a few could extricate themſelves with the leaſt encumbrance, and were not ſo eaſily ſtarved, which was the greateſt danger. The pupil of *Ariſtotle* carried too much philoſophy into the

field, to ſuſpect a want of it in his cabinet; and if the council of *Memnon the Rhodian* had been followed, poſterity might have contemplated the retreat of *Alexander* with as much admiration as ever his conqueſts afforded.—*Memnon* (ſay the hiſtorians) endeavoured by all poſſible means to diſſuade the ſatraps from giving battle, and adviſed them rather to ſpoil and ravage the country, even trampling under their horſes feet what forage they could not carry off. The *Perſian* pride revolted at the idea. *Diodorus Siculus* ſays they eſteemed it diſhonourable, and caſting a ſtain upon their valour; and for this punctilio rejected the certainty of ſucceſs: the ſequel proved that to conquer the *Macedonians* was no eaſy taſk, but whoever looks at *Darius*'s numbers will allow it to have been perfectly eaſy to eat them up.—National pride of all human ridicule is the moſt ridiculous; it ſeems a twig of every man's abſurdity bound into a ſtate-faggot. *Zimmerman* tells us the decent morality of an elder in an humped-backed nation reſtraining the jeers of his countrymen at a perſon perfectly ſtrait, who had been ſhipwrecked amongſt

amongſt them, and adviſing rather to go into the temples to return the Gods thanks for having endowed themſelves with ſuch ornamental humps, than to triumph over the unhappy foreigner who was denied ſuch a bleſſing.——For individuals, honour eſtabliſhes a court of equity, to regulate what law cannot reach, they become members of ſociety upon their terms, and whoever embraces an order is bound to abide by its rules, as long as he claims its benefits. This legiſlation like every other has its rewards and puniſhments, not leſs effective for being incoporeal. Theſe however will only apply to the members of a ſtate, and not to the ſtate itſelf; for which, opinion has no ſupremacy, but every thing muſt be ſubſtantiated, there is no ſociety of empires to claſh or mingle with each other, no compliment, no preference to virtue, no reproach for vice, it is the intercourſe between dependent beings, that alone gives influence to ideas; a *Robinſon Cruſoe* never once cared what the world thought of him.—An individual through exceſs of virtue renounces like *Helvetius*, an accumulating fortune, and

we revere his diſintereſtedneſs; but let a nation ſcrutinize the right of conqueſt aud relinquiſh a valuable territory acquired by their anceſtors, will the ſame morality apply, and enſure the conſcientious monarch ſimilar applauſe? If it be allowed meritorious to ſacrifice our intereſts in the one caſe, and neceſſary always to purſue them in the other, does it not follow that this vapour of common life, this aërial code of opinion extends an impotent juriſdiction beyond our private actions? We hear of national diſgrace, what is it? who feels, who owns it? does it leſſen the dignity of a city-knight, interfere with the conſequence of a country juſtice, or deſtroy the importance of a great man's butler? do you, or any of your friends, find yourſelves one atom more mean and contemptible for your ſhare of diſgrace? Can you put a nation out of countenance, pull it by the noſe, or ſet it in the pillory? for in good truth unleſs you can ſubſtantiate evil, the honeſt citizen who feels his commerce improving and his taxes eaſy, will not take the trouble of being convinced how much his country is diſgraced by

the

the conceſſions which procured him theſe advantages.—On the other hand, national honour is either ſo indiviſible that no-body gets a ſhare of it, or its corpuſcles are too minute even for microſcopic obſervation. We are fond enough of diſplaying our glories in general, and yet none that I know have aſked any credit upon the authority of being ſtockholders in this general fund. The dunce in his pulpit, the clerk in his ſtave, the fox-hunter at his leap, and the merry andrew in his grin, are each fond enough of honour to expect it in their line, but they only claim what is due to their private merits. The abuſe of language has produced more confuſion than any perverſion of intellect ever did; in borrowing a word to which ideas have once been rightly applied, we bear off all thoſe ideas to ſome topic which they cannot fit; but becauſe we find a coat commodious in private life, ſhall we freight a cargo of cloathing for an uninhabited iſland. If national honour be then only a word without meaning, it were to be wiſhed it had been explained before we had ſo much diſpute about it with the *Americans*.

any

Any thing but unconditional ſubmiſſion would affect the honour of this country, by and bye this country's honour may talk of unconditional ſubmiſſion with the trifling difference of having it change ſides. We debate wiſely about acknowledging their independence, when perhaps it might not be amiſs to get them to guarantee our own.

When *Charles* V. invaded *France*, her monarch was too wiſe to overlook the deciſive mode of fruſtrating his ambition, and the reaſonableneſs of his conduct was diſtinguiſhed by ſuch marked features that no able hiſtorian however unacquainted with military affairs, could fail remarking them. *Francis* (ſays *Robertſon*) fixed upon the only proper and effectual plan for defeating the invaſion of a powerful enemy, and his prudence in chuſing this plan, as well as his perſeverance in executing it deſerve the greater praiſe as it was equally contrary to his own natural temper, and the genius of the *French* nation, he determined to remain altogether upon the defenſive, never to hazard a battle, or even a great ſkirmiſh, without certainty

tainty of ſucceſs; to fortify his camps in a regular manner; to throw garriſons only into towns of great ſtrength; to deprive the enemy of ſubſiſtence by laying waſte the country before them, and to ſave the whole kingdom by ſacrificing one of its provinces.——The execution of this plan, he committed entirely to the Marechal *Montmorency*, who was the author of it; a man wonderfully fitted by nature for ſuch a truſt, haughty, ſevere, confident in his own abilities, and deſpiſing thoſe of other men, incapable of being diverted from any reſolution by remonſtrances or entreaties, and in proſecuting any ſcheme regardleſs alike of love and of pity.

Montmorency made choice of a ſtrong camp under the walls of *Avignon*, at the confluence of the *Rhone* and the *Durance*, one of which plentifully ſupplied his troops with all neceſſaries from the inland provinces, and the other covered his camp on that ſide where it was moſt probable the enemy would approach; he laboured with unwearied induſtry to render the fortifications of this camp impregnable,

and

and aſſembled there a conſiderable army, though greatly inferior to that of the enemy, while the king with another body of troops encamped at *Valence* higher up the *Rhone*. *Marſeilles* and *Arles* were the only towns he thought neceſſary to defend, the former in order to retain the command of the ſea, the latter as the barrier of the province of *Languedoc*, and each of theſe he furniſhed with numerous garriſons of his beſt troops commanded by officers, on whoſe fidelity and valour he could rely. The inhabitants of the other towns, as well as of the open country were compelled to abandon their houſes, and were conducted to the mountains, to the camp at Avignon or the inland provinces. The fortifications of ſuch places as might have afforded ſhelter or defence to the enemy, were thrown down. Corn, forage, and proviſions of every kind were carried away or deſtroyed; all the mills and ovens were ruined and the wells filled up or rendered uſeleſs. The devaſtation continued from the *Alps* to *Marſeilles*, and from the ſea to the confines of *Dauphine*, nor does hiſtory afford any inſtance among civilized nations, in which this

this cruel expedient for the public ſafety was employed with the ſame rigour. Meanwhile the emperor arrived with the van of his army on the frontiers of *Provence*, and was ſtill ſo poſſeſſed with confidence of ſucceſs, that during a few days when he was obliged to halt until the reſt of his troops came up, he began to divide his future conqueſts among his officers, and, as a new incitement to ſerve him with zeal, gave them liberal promiſes of offices, lands, and honours in *France*. The face of deſolation however, which preſented itſelf to him when he entered the country, began to damp his hopes, and convinced him that a monarch, who, in order to diſtreſs an enemy, had voluntarily ruined one of his richeſt provinces, would defend the reſt with obſtinate deſpair. Nor was it long before he became ſenſible that *Francis*'s plan of defence was as prudent, as it appeared to be extraordinary. His fleet, on which *Charles* chiefly depended for ſubſiſtence, was prevented for ſome time by contrary winds, and other accidents to which naval operations are ſubject, from approaching the French coaſt; even after its arrival, it afforded

at beſt a precarious and ſcanty ſupply to ſuch a numerous body of troops; nothing was to be found in the country itſelf for their ſupport, nor could they draw any conſiderable aid from the dominions of the Duke of *Savoy*, exhauſted already by maintaining two great armies. The Emperor was no leſs embarraſſed how to employ, than how to ſubſiſt his forces, for though he was now in poſſeſſion of almoſt an entire province, he could not be ſaid to have the command of it while he held only defenceleſs towns, and while the French, beſides their camp at *Avignon*, continued Maſters of *Marſeilles* and *Arles*.—At firſt he thought of attacking the camp, and of terminating the war by one deciſive blow, but ſkilful officers, who were appointed to view it, declared the attempt to be utterly impracticable; he then gave orders to inveſt *Marſeilles* and *Arles*, hoping that the French would quit their advantageous poſts in order to relieve them: but *Montmorency*, adhering firmly to his plan, remained immoveable at *Avignon*, and the Imperialiſts met with ſuch a warm reception from the garriſons of both towns, that they relinquiſhed

quiſhed their enterprizes with loſs and diſgrace. As a laſt effort, the Emperor advanced once more towards *Avignon*, though with an army harraſſed by the perpetual incurſions of ſmall parties of the French light troops, weakened by diſeaſes and diſpirited by diſaſters which ſeemed more intolerable, as they were unexpected.

The hiſtorian, in the next ſection, recites the dangers to which *Montmorency* was expoſed by the ardour of his own army, and that of *Francis*, who arrived to take the command, and was touched with their diſcontent at this appearance of timidity, when he continues.—Happily the retreat of the enemy delivered the kingdom from the danger which any raſh reſolution might have occaſioned. The Emperor after ſpending two inglorious months in *Provence*, without having performed any thing ſuitable to his vaſt preparations, or that could juſtify the confidence with which he had boaſted his own power, found that, beſides *Antonio de Leyva* and other officers of diſtinction, he had loſt one half of his troops by

diſeaſes or by famine, and that the reſt were in no condition to ſtruggle any longer with calamities, by which ſo many of their companions had periſhed. Neceſſity therefore extorted from him orders to retire; and though he was ſometime in motion before the French ſuſpected his intention, a body of light troops, aſſiſted by crouds of peaſants eager to be revenged on thoſe who had brought ſuch deſtruction on their country, hung upon the rear of the Imperialiſts, and by ſeizing every opportunity of attacking them, threw them often into confuſion. The road by which they fled, (for they purſued their march with ſuch diſorder and precipitation, that it hardly deſerves the name of a retreat,) was ſtrewed with arms or baggage, which in their hurry and trepidation, they had abandoned, and covered with the ſick, the wounded, and the dead; inſomuch that *Martin Bellay*, an eye-witneſs of their calamities, endeavours to give his readers ſome idea of it, by comparing their miſeries to thoſe which the Jews ſuffered from the victorious and deſtructive arms of the Romans, if *Montmorency* at this critical moment had

com

come up with all his forces, nothing could have ſaved the whole Imperial army from utter ruin. But that General, by ſtanding ſo long and ſo obſtinately on the defenſive, had become cautious to exceſs; his mind, tenacious of any bent it had once taken could not aſſume a contrary one as ſuddenly as the change of circumſtances required; and he ſtill continued to repeat his favorite maxims that it was more prudent to allow the lion to eſcape, than to drive him to deſpair, and that a bridge of gold ſhould be made for a retreating enemy.

The preſent moment preſents us with a ſtriking feature in the outline of defenſive war, but the ſubject is tender; and no man chuſes to comment upon a period concerning which the feelings of his readers are ſo "tremblingly alive."—Not to extoll much of the *Americans* conduct would be making a public default in the account of juſtice; and the author whoſe ardent prayer is for the welfare of *Great Britain* gladly relinquiſhes the theme, however appoſite to his deſign.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Internal Arrangements of England *in former Periods.*

THE Military Tenures placed our anceſtors in a much more advantageous poſture of defence at all times, than the militia alone can afford to ourſelves. Not only on account of the actual numbers bound to immediate ſervice, but from that univerſal habitude to arms, which conſecrated the exerciſes of every peaſant to the hallowed object of his country's ſafety.—Notwithſtanding theſe feudal advantages, an equal prevalence of military enterpriſes in ſurrounding nations, rendered the interpoſition of the legiſlature frequently neceſſary for the purpoſes of regulating and arraying the ſoldiers thus raiſed; as well as eſtabliſh-

eſtabliſhing general and ſtated proviſions of armour for the public defence. Accordingly all our old records are full of ſuch regulations. There is in the Muſeum, a writ of *Ed.* II. giving to *John*, Earl of *Suſſex*, the cuſtody of the ſea-coaſts, and commanding him to array *all* the men between 16 and 60 years of age, for its defence. To the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and other biſhops is given a power of adminiſtering the ſacrament, to exact from the ſaid earl and others (called *Cuſtodes Portarum*) a ſolemn oath of fidelity, that the ports allotted to their charge be diligently kept, and alſo that they ſhall inſpect and ſee that all the men of all the counties in *England*, be provided with proper arms ſuitable to their condition *.—— At this time the coaſts and even the whole kingdom were formed into diſtricts, and the charge of each given to particular perſons, ſome of theſe diſtributions are yet preſerved, and their extent ſeems very

* *Juxta ſtatum ſuum* is the old law expreſſion, and there are ſtatutes expreſſing the ſize, weight, and nature of weapons, to be furniſhed by particular qualifications of eſtate.

ſmall

CHAP. III.

Internal Arrangements of England *in former Periods.*

THE Military Tenures placed our anceſtors in a much more advantageous poſture of defence at all times, than the militia alone can afford to ourſelves. Not only on account of the actual numbers bound to immediate ſervice, but from that univerſal habitude to arms, which conſecrated the exerciſes of every peaſant to the hallowed object of his country's ſafety.—Notwithſtanding theſe feudal advantages, an equal prevalence of military enterpriſes in ſurrounding nations, rendered the interpoſition of the legiſlature frequently neceſſary for the purpoſes of regulating and arraying the ſoldiers thus raiſed; as well as eſtabliſh-

eſtabliſhing general and ſtated proviſions of armour for the public defence. Accordingly all our old records are full of ſuch regulations. There is in the Muſeum, a writ of *Ed.* II. giving to *John*, Earl of *Suſſex*, the cuſtody of the ſea-coaſts, and commanding him to array *all* the men between 16 and 60 years of age, for its defence. To the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and other biſhops is given a power of adminiſtering the ſacrament, to exact from the ſaid earl and others (called *Cuſtodes Portarum)* a ſolemn oath of fidelity, that the ports allotted to their charge be diligently kept, and alſo that they ſhall inſpect and ſee that all the men of all the counties in *England*, be provided with proper arms ſuitable to their condition *. At this time the coaſts and even the whole kingdom were formed into diſtricts, and the charge of each given to particular perſons, ſome of theſe diſtributions are yet preſerved, and their extent ſeems very

* *Juxta ſtatum ſuum* is the old law expreſſion, and there are ſtatutes expreſſing the ſize, weight, and nature of weapons, to be furniſhed by particular qualifications of eſtate.

ſmall

ſmall. It appears alſo, that the diviſions of counties and hundreds were originally adopted as well for defenſive as civil purpoſes. For the Mirror ſays, "When kings were firſt or-"dained in this realm, the kingdom was di-"vided into forty portions, and every one of "thoſe portions or counties was * committed "to ſome earl to govern and defend againſt "the enemies of the realm. Theſe earls after "they had received the government of each "county, divided them into centuries or hun-"dreds, to every hundred was appointed a "centurion or conſtable, who had his portion "and limits aſſigned to him to keep and "defend with the power of the hundred, and "were to be ready on all alarms with their "arms againſt the common enemy."

In the warlike reign of *Edward* III. military arrangements are without number, I have annexed a few in the Appendix, ſhewing his

* Formerly the lieutenants of every county were elected by the freeholders (See *Lambard's Saxon Law,*) There was a tract publiſhed in 1642, impeaching the validity of the militia ordinances on this ground.

univerſal

univerſal array of all lay-men between 16 and 60, as well knights and eſquires, as others capable of bearing arms, under the ſevereſt penalties of life and limb and univerſal forfeiture. Alſo his charge of the beacons, which were no new eſtabliſhment, and allowance of procuring ſubſtitutes in ſome inſtances.——Without ſwelling the appendix with an unneceſſary number of authorities, it may be ſufficient to obſerve, that this array was only for the purpoſe of defenſive war; in which caſe alone it could be juſtified, and that the calling out the whole body with ſome exceptions, when only a few were to be actually employed, was in fact no more than happens with us, when freſh ballots are demanded for the militia; except as to the article of all being furniſhed with arms, the reaſon of which difference will appear the moment we recollect the accoutrements with which a ſoldier then entered the field, and that his armour muſt have been adapted to his own perſon; whereas now a muſket at once fits the ſhoulder of a ſubſtitute, as well as that of his principal.——In the courſe of this eſſay, it has been ob-

ſerved, that the powers of being uſeful in defence extended to many who were ill-adapted to the buſineſs of attack, or more active operations of a campaign, and there is a paſſage too ſtrongly worded in the orders ſent the Mayor of *Lynn*, for me not to conceive it conveyed the ſame meaning. The inſtructions for array in this inſtance being not of all able men, but it is expreſſed to be on the alarm of invaſion, and therefore all men capable of defence *(omnes homines defenſibiles)* are to be called upon.——After muſtering the whole numbers of the realm, we have an account of thoſe actually ordered to be embodied; and although ſome of the counties are miſſing, and the quota to be furniſhed by the cities not fully aſcertained; they amount to upwards of ſeventy thouſand, who during the time the king remained in *Scotland*, were aſſembled in two bodies, at *London* and at *Norwich*, under different commanders, with a ſtrong exhortation to orderly demeanour, which the turbulence of the age rendered neceſſary.—Beſides thoſe who by their tenures were bound to maintain particular diſtricts, we find frequent inſtances of writs for ſuch

ſervice.

ſervice. The original of one of theſe is preſerved in the Muſeum, it is in Henry VIths time, commanding divers perſons of the county of *Dorſet, to make watch and ward, and keep the town and port of the Pool, and coaſts of the ſea thereaboutt*, concluding—*Theſe be the names of the perſons that be bounden to keepe watch and warde.*—a great many of theſe names are ſtill legible, and there can be no doubt but that whenever it becomes neceſſary to make ſerious proviſion for defence at home, we ſhall revert to the wiſdom of our anceſtors, and ſpecify the nature of the aid required from every individual. There are periods of antiquity, to which the arts look up with gratitude and veneration, here the ſenſes all conſpire againſt our arrogance, and compel us to yield the palm, but in matters of philoſophy and all abſtract ſpeculations, being fortunately preſerved from the humiliation of ſuch palpable inferiority, we avenge ourſelves by aſſuming the haughtieſt pre-eminence; thus as if truth, changed with the faſhions of the court, antiquated knowledge becomes a term of ridicule. May it not be

ſerved, that the powers of being uſeful in defence extended to many who were ill-adapted to the buſineſs of attack, or more active operations of a campaign, and there is a paſſage too ſtrongly worded in the orders ſent the Mayor of *Lynn*, for me not to conceive it conveyed the ſame meaning. The inſtructions for array in this inſtance being not of all able men, but it is expreſſed to be on the alarm of invaſion, and therefore all men capable of defence *(omnes homines defenſibiles)* are to be called upon.——After muſtering the whole numbers of the realm, we have an account of thoſe actually ordered to be embodied; and although ſome of the counties are miſſing, and the quota to be furniſhed by the cities not fully aſcertained; they amount to upwards of ſeventy thouſand, who during the time the king remained in *Scotland*, were aſſembled in two bodies, at *London* and at *Norwich*, under different commanders, with a ſtrong exhortation to orderly demeanour, which the turbulence of the age rendered neceſſary.—Beſides thoſe who by their tenures were bound to maintain particular diſtricts, we find frequent inſtances of writs for ſuch

ſervice

ſervice. The original of one of theſe is preſerved in the Muſeum, it is in Henry VIths time, commanding divers perſons of the county of *Dorſet, to make watch and ward, and keep the town and port of the Pool, and coaſts of the ſea thereaboutt*, concluding—*Theſe be the names of the perſons that be bounden to keepe watch and warde.*—a great many of theſe names are ſtill legible, and there can be no doubt but that whenever it becomes neceſſary to make ſerious proviſion for defence at home, we ſhall revert to the wiſdom of our anceſtors, and ſpecify the nature of the aid required from every individual. There are periods of antiquity, to which the arts look up with gratitude and veneration, here the ſenſes all conſpire againſt our arrogance, and compel us to yield the palm, but in matters of philoſophy and all abſtract ſpeculations, being fortunately preſerved from the humiliation of ſuch palpable inferiority, we avenge ourſelves by aſſuming the haughtieſt pre-eminence; thus as if truth, changed with the faſhions of the court, antiquated knowledge becomes a term of ridicule. May it not be

that we ſee ourſelves do worſe, and only fancy we reaſon better ?

Whoever relates the tranſanctions of former ages, of courſe muſt borow all he writes. So long as fidelity guides his narration, he can add nothing of his own but ſuch remarks as ariſe from the nature of the ſubject, either tending to elucidate the facts themſelves, or to draw concluſions from them. It will therefore, be allowable, to uſe the very words of *Stowe* and *Camden*, in referring to the ſituation of this country under *Queen Elizabeth:* with a view of proving that a ſovereign, whom heaven had endowed with thoſe tranſcendent faculties of diſcernment requiſite to ſelect an able miniſtry, could never leave this iſland unprepared, when an invaſion was meditated. The neceſſity of forming previous arrangements for general defence, was in itſelf a diſcovery, which like thoſe of *Columbus*, left all that was to follow any eaſy taſk. Unfortunately, the geographical alluſion may be purſued to a reſemblance with what old maps repreſented *Van Diemen's Land*; a point hit upon

upon by our forefathers, which their children long again loſt ſight of. The Reſolution therefore, of timely calling forth, combining and methodizing the powers of natural defence, was ſuch an advanced ſtage on the road to wiſdom, as opened every proſpect of the whole career; and if hiſtory had been wholly ſilent upon the ſubſequent proceedings, it would have been Cynically uncandid, not to have augured well for them. When a ſun beams forth, it muſt illumine an hemiſphere; and no man who views the ſtupendous foundation of an *Egyptian* pyramid, could conceive it intended to ſupport a pidgeon-houſe. To argue merely *a priori* it was impoſſible for ſuch a council, ſtarting from ſuch a point not to have adopted proper meaſures. Hiſtorians have fortunately furniſhed us with the means of remarking, that they actually did reſolve on the moſt wiſe, the moſt ſalutary, and the only ones certain of attaining their object. Meaſures backed by all the experience of remote ages, enforced by all the invincibility of ſound reaſoning, and approved by every eſtabliſhed principle of military ſcience.

ence. It was not the ſenſeleſs pageantry of review camps, uſeleſs but to entertain idlers at COMPIEGNE *, and harraſs a diſguſted army with an unvaried repitition of trifling manœuvres; but one great, rational, well-digeſted plan, produced in full maturity by the energy of manly councils, and moſt heartily adopted by a free and united people, whoſe confidence in government, and approbation of its meaſures, mutually begot and foſtered each other. *Stowe* begins with remarking the queen's "*pro-* "*vident regard of her own, her peoples, and coun-* "*try's ſafety*" *and her ſubjects exceeding forward-neſs in their juſt defence,* which was promoted for two years together by every method the council could ſuggeſt, cauſing he ſays, *the miniſters to manifeſt to their congregation, the furious purpoſe of the Spaniſh King, &c.* "by "whoſe pains and induſtrie, the *Engliſh* na- "tion were ſo combined in heart, that I here "confeſſe I want art lively to expreſſe the "ſympathy of love betweene the ſubjects and the ſoveraigne.

* Where the King of *France* uſually has his Review Camps.

"Citties

" Citties, counties, towns, and villages, the cinque ports, and all other havens of *England*, manifeſted as great forwardnes in their zealous love and dutie, as eyther ſubjects coulde per-
" forme, or prince expect. To ſingle out
" the admirable dexterity and bountie of any
" one perticular place, or people, were ap-
" parent wrong to all, yet for a taſte of
" truth, in all thus much may be ſayde of
" *London:* After the counſell had demanded
" what the cittie would doe in their prince
" and countries right, the lord maior and
" aldermen humblie beſought their honors to
" ſette downe what their wiſdomes held re-
" quiſite in ſuch a caſe. The lords demand-
" ed five thouſand men and fifteen ſhips;
" the cittie craved two days reſpite for an-
" ſwere, which was granted; and then en-
" treated their lordſhips, in ſigne of their per-
" fect love and loyaltie to their prince and countrey, kindly to accept tenne thouſand
" men, and thirtie ſhippes amply furniſhed;
" and even as *London*, *London*-like, gave the
" preſident, the whole kingdom kept true
" rank and equipage.

" The

" The whole nobilitie, moſt nobely, like
" planets of the higher orbes, in kind con-
" junction knit their harts in one whoſe
" princely valour equalling their love, aſ-
" ſured their ſoveraygne of triumphant vic-
" torie.

" About three yeares before, at which
" time the Cittie of *London* was greatly trou-
" bled and charged with continuall muſters
" and trayning of ſoldiers; certaine gallant
" and active citizens, having had experience
" both abroad and at home, voluntarily ex-
" erciſed themſelves, and trayned uppe others
" for the readie uſe of warre, ſo as within
" two yeares there was almoſt three hundred
" marchants, and others of like quality, very
" ſufficient to traine and teach common ſoul-
" diers the managing their pieces, pikes, and
" halberds, to march counter-march, and
" ring, which ſaid marchants for their owne
" perfection in military affayres and diſci-
" pline, met every Tueſday in the yeare,
" practiſing all uſuall poyntes of warre, every
" man by turne bare orderly office, from the
" corporall

" corporall to the captaine, ſome of them this
" yeare had charge of men in the great camp,
" and were generally called Captaines of the
" Artillerie Garden, and theſe tooke preſident
" from the merchants of Antwerp." After mentioning ſome naval arrangements, which have no immediate reference to theſe times, he proceeds

" Thus the queen having ſent competent
" centinells and ſtrength to guard her confines,
" and ſecure her lands from ſudden invaſion:
" the counſel upon mature deliberation gave
" order for the executing and diſpoſing the
" land ſervice, and chiefly what ſtrength and
" in what place were beſt to plant to the armie
" of defence, and in the end it was concluded
" the rendevous ſhoulde be at *Tilbury*. The
" ground having been ſurveyed before, forth-
" with were trenches cutte: their next thwart
" neighbour, neighbour *Graveſend* was then like-
" wiſe fortified, and weſterne barges thither
" brought to make a bridge like to that of
" *Antwerp*, to ſtop the entrance of the daring
" foe, and give free paſſage both to horſe and

" ſoote betweene *Kent* and *Eſſex*, as occaſion
" ſerved,

" All the ſhires and cities of the land,
" having their trained ſoldiers aptly furniſhed
" with captaines, officers, and fit abilliments
" for warre, attended the hourely pleaſure of
" the prince, *provided allways and was ever*
" *meant that all frontier ports, eyther to the*
" *ſea or other ſtation, ſhoulde ſtill retaine their*
" *proper ſtrengths, and from the inland onely to*
" *ſelect ſuch men, as were fitteſt for the generall*
" *campe.*

The land army mentioned by this author, conſiſted of the following numbers, furniſhed of the reſpective counties,

	Horſemen, Lances,	Light Horſe,
Bedfordſhire - -	17	40
Buckingham - -	18	83
Hartfordſhire - -	25	60
Kent - - - -	50	100
Suffolk - - -	50	200
Eſſex - - - -	50	100

Middle-

Middleſex - - -	35	88
Surrey - - - -	8	98
Sum	253	769

	Footmen,
Bedford - - -	500
Buckingham - - -	500
Hartford - - - -	1000
Surrey - - - - -	1000
Barkſhire - - - - -	1000
Oxford - - - - -	1000
London - - - - -	1000
Suffolke - - - - -	3000
Eſſex - - - - -	5000
Kent - - - - -	5000
Norfolke - - - - -	3000
Sum	22000

This number of footmen was allotted for the camp at *Tylbury*, but the number aſſembled amounted onely to 16500.

The armie for the guard of her Majeſties perſon under the charge of the Lord Cham-

 berlayne,

berlayne, conſiſting both of horſe and foote, levyed out of theſe ſhires following,

	Horſemen, Lances,	Light Horſe,
Glouceſter - - -	20	100
Somerſet - - -	50	100
Suſſex - - - -	20	100
Wilton - - - -	25	100
Barkſhire - - -	10	85
Oxford - - - -	23	103
Cambridge - - -	13	40
Northampton - -	20	80
Leiceſter - - -	9	70
Warwick - - -	17	76
Huntington - - -	6	26
Dorſet - - - -	120	0
Suffolke - - -	70	230
Norfolke - - -	80	321
Sum	481	1431

	Footemen,
Glouceſter - - -	2500
Somerſet - - - -	4000
Suſſex - - - - -	2500

Wilton

Wilton - - - - - -	2300
Cambridge - - - - -	700
Northampton - - - -	600
Leiceſter - - - - -	500
Warwicke - - - - -	500
Huntington - - - - -	400
Dorſet - - - - -	1000
Suffolke - - - - -	3000
Hartford - - - - -	500
Surrey - - - - -	500
Barkſhire - - - - -	500
Oxford - - - - - -	150
Worceſter - - - - -	400
Southampton - - - -	2000
Devon - - - - - -	2000
London - - - - -	9000
Middleſex - - - - -	1000
	34050

Cambden, after reciting the Naval Preparations of Queen *Eliſabeth*, and proving thereby that the wiſdom of her councils had over-ruled the inſanity of thoſe valourous Quixotes, "who earneſtly perſuaded her to expect the enemy's

enemy's coming, and to welcome him with a land battle," proceeds to her internal arrangements, thus,

" For land ſervice, there were diſpoſed along " the Southern Coaſts twenty thouſand men, " beſides which two armies were raiſed of " choice well diſciplined men: the one under " the command of the Earl of *Leiceſter*, con- " ſiſting of a thouſand horſe and twenty-two " thouſand foot, which encamped at *Tilbury*, " not far from the *Thames* mouth (for the " enemy was fully reſolved to ſet firſt upon " *London*) the other under the leading of Lord " *Hunſdon*, conſiſting of thirty-four thouſand " foot and two thouſand horſe to guard the " Queen's perſon.

" *Arthur* Lord *Grey*, Sir *Francis Knolles*, Sir " *John Norris*, Sir *Richard Bingham*, and Sir " *Roger Williams*, Knights, and excellent ſol- " diers, were made choice of, to conſult about " the beſt way of managing the war at land. " Theſe men thought good, that the moſt " convenient landing-places for the enemy, as

" well

" well out of *Spain* as out of the *Low Coun-*
" *tries*, ſhould be well manned and fortified;
" namely, *Milford-Haven*, *Falmouth*, *Plymouth*,
" *Portland*, the Iſle of *Wight*, *Portſmouth*, that
" open coaſt of *Kent* which we call the *Downs*,
" the *Thames Mouth*, *Harwich*, *Yarmouth*, *Hull*,
" &c. and that the trained bands all along
" the maritime counties, ſhould meet in arms,
" upon a ſignal given, to defend the ſaid parts,
" and do their beſt to prohibit the enemys
" landing; and if the enemy did land, to lay
" all the country waſte round about, and to
" ſpoil all things that might be of any uſe to
" them, that ſo they might find no food but
" what they brought with them on their ſhoul-
" ders, and to buſy the enemy night and day,
" with continual alarms, ſo as to give them
" no reſt, but not to put it to the hazard of
" a battle, till more commanders with their
" companies were come up to them, of which
" commanders they nominated on in every
" ſhire, to have the chief command and con-
" duct. I liſt not to relate, what midland
" ſhires they aſſigned to aid this and that

" coaſt

" coaſt, what numbers, what arms, and what " manner of fight they agreed upon."

The inexhauſtible fund of ſound information, with which the annals of this period are replete, renders it neceſſary to ſubjoin verbatim, the council of war as it has been tranſmitted to us, and which is preſerved in the Britiſh Muſeum.

COUNCIL of WAR, held in the Year 1587.

Lord Grey,
Sir Francis Knolles, Treaſurer of the Houſehold,
Sir Thomas Laken,
Sir Walter Rawleigh,
Sir Richard Granvill,
Sir John Norris,
Sir Richard Bingham,
Sir Roger Williams,
Ralph Lane, Eſq;

PRO-

PROPOSITIONS.

Such means as are conſidered to be fitteſt to put the forces of the realm in order, to withſtand an invaſion; and the places moſt to be ſuſpected, that the *Spaniards* intend to land in,

Milford,
Helford,
Falmouth,
Plymouth,
Torbay,
Portland,
The Iſle of Wight.

Theſe are apteſt for the army of *Spain* to land,

Neſſe, in Suſſex,
The Downs,
Margate, in Kent,
The River of Thames,
Harwich,
Yarmouth,
Hull and Scotland.

Theſe are apteſt for the army in *Flanders*. How many of theſe places may be put in defence, to hinder their landing.

Milford, in Wales,
Plymouth, for the Weſt,
Portland, for the middle of the Weſt Parts;
The Iſle of Wight,
Portſmouth, and
The River of Thames.

Milford,

Although we do ſuppoſe the barrenneſs of the country to be ſuch, as it is not likely to be invaded; yet touching *Milford-Haven*, in reſpect of the goodneſs of the ſame, we think it convenient that there ſhould be trained the number of two thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe, to be levied and had in readineſs, and for the increaſe of horſemen, if any lack be then. The gentlemen, with their ſervingmen, may be commanded to ſupply the default of the number aforeſaid.

PLYMOUTH.

The reaſon why *Plymouth* is thought to be the moſt likely place, is, for that it is unlikely the King of *Spain* will engage his fleet too far within the channel, before he has maſtered ſome good harbour; and *Plymouth* is the neareſt to *Spain*, eaſy to be won, ſpeedily to be by them fortified, and conveniently ſituated, to ſend ſuccour either out of *Spain* or *France*.

PORTLAND.

The reaſon why *Portland* is alſo an apt place to land in, is, for that there is a great harbour for all his ſhips to ride in, and good landing for the men; the Iſle being won, is a ſtrong place of retreat, and the country adjoining *Champaign*, where, with great conveniency, he may march with his whole army.

The reaſon why the *Downs*, *Margate*, and the river of *Thames*, are thought fit landing-places, is, in reſpect of the commodity of landing, and nearneſs to the Prince of *Parma*,

in whoſe forces the King of *Spain* repoſed ſpecial truſt.

Now in theſe places following, order may be taken to hinder their landing, whether by fortification, or aſſembly of the people, or both.

For PLYMOUTH, both by Fortification and Aſſembly of People.

In *Devon* and *Cornwall*, there are of trained men in the counties and ſtannaries five thouſand which are to aſſemble for the defence of *Plymouth*, ſtanding equal to both counties, of which we are of opinion, in place of muſter-days, which are very chargeable, and in effect to no purpoſe, that two thouſands of theſe ſhould be aſſembled together at *Plymouth*, under ſuch a general as ſhall be ordained to govern, that Weſtern Army, to the intent that they may know their leaders, be acquainted, be thoroughly inſtructed to all purpoſes, that on ſudden occaſions, there may be no amaze or any confuſion. This ſhall be done the one half at the charge of her Majeſty, the other at the charge

charge of the country, if the country's charge do not ſurmount the ordinary trainings.

For PORTLAND, by aſſembling of Men and fortifying.

In *Dorſet* and *Wiltſhire* there are of trained men two thouſand ſeven hundred, which are to be aſſembled for the defence of that place; and that two thouſand of the ſaid number ſhould be aſſembled and exerciſed as before is ſaid, at *Plymouth*, or in ſome place of *Wiltſhire*, appointed for the *Iſle of Wight*, to take *Somerſetſhire*, in which there is two thouſand foot.

At SANDWICH and THE DOWNS, by aſſembling of Men.

In *Kent* and *Suſſex*, there are of trained men four thouſand five hundred, which are to be aſſembled in thoſe places for defence thereof, and two thouſand of the ſame number to be aſſembled at *Sandwich*, to be governed and exerciſed as before is ſaid for *Plymouth*.

So likewiſe for *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, like order to be obſerved.

Our

Our farther meaning is, that theſe garriſons ſhall remain but twenty days to be thoroughly trained and acquainted with encamping, and then every ſuch two thouſand men in garriſon, being ſo acquainted with diſcipline, ſhall give example to a great army of raw men, whereby ſhall be no manner of confuſion, on all ſudden emergencies. Further, we are of opinion, that to theſe two thouſand men, there ſhall be twenty captains appointed; which twenty captains, having each of them, one hundred trained men, ſhall receive under their charge when the army ſhall aſſemble, one hundred more, ſo as in effect, there ſhall be four thouſand men in order, and under martial diſcipline. The choice of which captains, we think, for the one half to be left for the choice of the general of the army, and the other to be of the principal gentlemen of the county, under whom there may be ſoldiers appointed for their lieutenants. The like order is to be obſerved in every of the other places of garriſon.

What Order muſt be taken to fight with the Enemy, if by force. he be landed.

For

For the manner how to fight with the enemy, it muſt be left to the diſcretion of the general; only we give this advice, that at his landing, he may be impeded, if conveniently it may be done; and if he march forward, that the country be driven, ſo as no victuals remain, but ſuch as they ſhall carry on their backs, which will be ſmall, that he be kept waking with continual alarms; but that in no caſe, that any battle be adventured till ſuch time as divers lieutenants be aſſembled to make a groſs army, as we have ſpecified, except upon a ſpecial advantage.

Farther, it is thought neceſſary, that in theſe two provinces, and in all others where many lieutenants be, there ſhould one be appointed to be chief, for among many lieutenants there may be ſome ſtraining of courteſy; leſt by ſuch delay and confuſion, great inconveniences do grow to the country, and advantages to enemy; and therefore, any lieutenant coming out of any country with his force, his authority only to extend to govern his company, as colonel of that regiment, and ſo to be commanded

manded by the general lieutenant. As for example; in *Devon* and *Cornwall*, there are ten lieutenants, whereby it may be known, who ſhall command in either, as need ſhall require.

What Proportion of Men ſhall be prepared to ſerve that End.

Whereſoever the enemy ſhall land, as if at *Plymouth* for example, then by the computation of ſix thouſand men, armed and furniſhed in *Devon* and *Cornwall*, we conceive that the aſſiſtance of *Wiltſhire*, *Dorſet*, and *Somerſet*, adjoing to the ſix thouſand of the *Weſt*, will make a ſufficient army, being ſtrengthened by the gentlemen, and ſerving-men, and other of the country that ſhall be adjoined, though not ſo thoroughly armed as the *Weſt*; and if it happen, either by deſign or contrary weather, that the enemy paſs over *Plymouth*, and land at *Portland*, then the armed men and trained ſoldiers of the *Weſt*, ſhall repair to them; and further, if the invaſion be in *Kent*, or any other ways to the Weſt of the River of *Thames*, then

then thoſe middle ſhires directed to aſſiſt the *Weſt*, may turn to the *Eaſt*, along the coaſt.

If the army of *Flanders* land in the River of *Thames*, then the ſame order is to be taken with the ſhires adjoining as is aforeſaid; namely, *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, *Eſſex*, and the City of *London*. And becauſe there is a ſpecial regard to be had of her Majeſty's perſon, we think it moſt neceſſary that an army ſhould be provided to that end, to be compoſed of ſuch counties as are appointed and reſerved for that purpoſe, and to join with the forces of the City of *London* and ſuch others, as may be armed out of her Majeſty's ſtores.

Farthermore, for the increaſe of foot, lacking armour, we think it fit that there be of able men unarmed, whereof choice may be made of the trained men armed, one fourth part more of which fourth part of unarmed men, eighty may be pikes, and twenty billmen, for the providing of which pikes and bills, there muſt be ſpeedy proviſion made, being weapons that the realm doth furniſh.

Alſo for the increaſe of armed pikemen, in this time of ſcarcity of armour, we do think it good, that all the armed bill-men may be converted to be made armed pikemen, and that all able bill-men unarmed, ſhould be levied and choſen in their places, becauſe the ranks of bill-men in order of battle, are always environed and encompaſſed about with pikemen, for the bill-men ſerve eſpecially for execution, if the enemy in battle ſhall be overthrown. But, here it is to be noted, that there muſt be reſerved a few armed bill-men and halberdiers, to guard the ranks, wherein the enſigns, drums, &c. are placed in order of battle.

Alſo, ſince upon any ſudden invaſion, it would be too late to provide theſe things which ſhall be neceſſary for defence, it is thought neceſſary that before-hand, a ſtore of ordnance and ammunition be provided, as alſo powder-ſpades, and all other furniture whatſoever; and to be left in theſe fore-named places, in which there garriſons ſhall remain; it is alſo to be provided, that in all thoſe general aſſemblies be held for training as well horſemen as footmen;

footmen; and to that end, that at *Plymouth*, *Portland*, *Sandwich*, and any other places, that ſhall be fit to have the like training, the horſemen of the next adjoining counties be brought together: as namely, at *Plymouth*, thoſe of *Devon*, *Cornwall*, and *Somerſet*; at *Portland*, thoſe of *Dorſet*, and *Wiltſhire*, *Hampſhire*, and *Berkſhire*; at *Sandwich*, thoſe of *Kent*, *Suſſex*, *Surry*, *&c.* But becauſe it may fall out in thoſe places appointed for training of the infantry, they may want forage, or place fit for horſemen, it may be left to the diſcretion of the lieutenants, tho chuſe the fitteſt for the cavalry, as near the foot as conveniently they may.

SCOTLAND.

Farther, as touching *Scotland*, where landing we cannot reſiſt, we think it meet that a ſtronger proportion be conſidered of, for that part; namely ſix thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe, whereof to be a thouſand lances; arms of far more defence, and may be furniſhed as good and cheap as the jack, and to be taken out of the tower.

If therefore, the army of *Flanders* ſhould happen to land in *Scotland*, whereby their force and ſtrength ſhall be ſo great, as the army aforeſaid ſhall not be able to encounter them; then we think fit that a good part of the army prepared to guard her Majeſty's perſon, ſhall march to ſupport the army of the *North*, againſt that enemy; and joined with the trained of that country, and the army of the *Weſt* brought to ſupply that charge.

It is alſo moſt carefully to be conſidered, that the King of *Spain*, is not hopeleſs of ſome party of *Papiſts* and malecontents.

All which, if theſe ſmall regiments before ſpoken of, be not in readineſs, both to aſſemble for reſiſtance of any foreign enemy, and to withſtand them at home both in one day; for every man ſhall ſtand in fear of firing of his own houſe, and deſtruction of his family: Therefore, if any ſtir ſhould happen, ſuch ſevere proceedings or execution towards ſuch offenders, would be uſed by martial law.

And

And to conclude, when it ſhall be bruited in *Spain*, that there are at *Plymouth*, and other places, ſuch a number of armed ſoldiers, under enſigns and leaders, the number will be reported to be double or treble; ſo as the King of *Spain*, upon good probability, may conceive, that theſe ſoldiers, and ſuch as are in other places upon the coaſt, in like readineſs are determined to land in *Portugal* or the *Indies*; the ſame opinion being fortified by the preparation of ſo many ſhips as are given in charge to be made ready in thoſe parts, by Sir *Francis Drake*.

We think it alſo very neceſſary, that throughout all the countries of the realm, this proportion as well amongſt the armed and trained as the unarmed, pikes and bills may be obſerved; that is to ſay, that of every hundred there be eighty pikes, and twenty bills.

We think it neceſſary that ſome order and proviſion be alſo taken by their lordſhips, that her

her Majeſty's ſhips being at *Rocheſter* be not entrapped."

Then follows an arrangement of bill-men and pike-men, with their diſpoſition in companies of one hundred each and the appointment of a chief, under ſuch title, as ſhall ſeem good to the Lords of the Council, to be aſſiſted with a ſufficient number of experienced captains to be in her Majeſty's pay. The ſaid chief gentleman to give ſuch orders for the training and exerciſing the ſaid regiment, with the aſſiſtance of the ſaid experienced captains, as ſhall ſeem good unto him, and alſo for training the horſemen.

This ends the Council of War.———*Dated 27th Nov.* 1587.

From *Stowe*'s account, it appears, that the forces in readineſs, amounted to 58,984 men. And he adds, "yet there were ready in all places, many thouſands more to back and ſecond them.

Cambden,

Cambden alſo in round numbers tells us, there were 59,000 in the two armies, beſides 20,000 diſpoſed along the *Southern* coaſts. Lord *Bacon* too ſays, that beſides the levies actually embodied, "There were alſo other dormant "muſters of ſoldiers throughout all parts of "realm that were put in readineſs, but not "drawn together."

To what immenſe numbers theſe might amount, may be gathered from a manuſcript in the *Cottonian* collection, which relates the number of able men returned to government to be in the *Engliſh* counties, 298,068. In the *Welch*, 18,026; and in the cities and towns corporate, 5472.——I have alſo ſubjoined to the appendix, an incompleat abſtract of the lord lieutenants certificates of them and their array; beſides all which, the levies of individuals were prodigious.

I have taken the pains to decypher a variety of papers, ſome extracts of which cannot be uninterreſting; either as eſtabliſhing the ſyſtem of defence, or ſhewing the wiſdom of the ſovereign,

vereign, aſking and courteouſly receiving, the opinions of all; and the univerſal ardour which pervaded the whole nation.

Lord-keeper Sir *Nicholas Bacon* to Queen *Elizabeth*, 20th *Nov.* 1557. " ——and con-
" cerning matters at home, I think that your
" Higneſs's muſters be continued, and their
" certificates carefully peruſed; and thereupon
" order taken from time to time, to ſupply
" all wants, as well of captains, munition,
" men, and armour, againſt all ſudden chances.
" I truſt there ſhall be ſmall cauſe of fear,
" for any want at home."

Lord North to the Lord-treaſurer.—1587.
" Now, my good lord, knowing no man
" living, more careful for the ſervice of her
" Majeſty than yourſelf, I come only to you,
" letting your lordſhip know, that this county
" of *Cambridge*, and the Iſle of *Ely*, which
" reacheth to the ſea, is put in no reddineſs,
" either of men, horſes, or armour; there
" hath been no muſter or view taken here
" theſe three or four years. All other ſhires
" about

" about us, muſter, arm, and put in readineſs,
" what they can poſſibly. To have the forces
" of this place in like readineſs, if your lord-
" ſhip thinks ſo good were convenient, the
" ſooner the better, that men may have time
" to furniſh themſelves, not law-like, but lov-
" ingly to furniſh themſelves after a reaſona-
" able rate, which no doubt will be done here
" very dutifully. Your good Lordſhip will
" pardon me if I exceed my bounds; love
" to her Majeſty's Service moveth me to put
" your Lordſhip in mind thereof."

The pains taken to rouſe the people, and apprize them of their danger, were not merely confined to the pulpit, for a letter from the Queen herſelf to the Lord Lieutenant of *Lancaſhire* bids him enforce, " how every man's
" particular eſtate is threatened in the higheſt
" degree to be touched in reſpect of country,
" liberty, wyffe, children, lands, lyffe and re-
" ligion; and looking that moſt of them ſhould
" have upon this inſtant extraordinary occaſion
" a larger proportion of furniture for foot and
" horſe than hath been certified."——

A letter from the lords of the council to the Earl of *Bath*, Lord Lieutenant of the county of *Devon* :——" directs him to fortify the iſland of *St. Nicholas*, and ſays that in regard of the late warnings, it cannot be but that they are very alert and prepared, and therefore when it is once put in a poſture of defence, he may for the eaſe of the country let them go home, ordering theſe of the neareſt villages to be conſtantly in readineſs to throw themſelves into it upon an hours warning, conſidering alſo what numbers ſhould conſtantly remain to prevent a ſudden ſurprize,—and he is further ordered to ſend boats to lie along to the weſtward to make ſignals to the coaſt.——

As a proof how early the plans of defence were adopted, the following are minutes of orders ſent to the Lord Lieutenant in 1585.

To cauſe a view to be taken of all places of defence, and to conſider what ſconces, or other kind of defence may be made there, without any great charge to the county; and that the enemy may be impeached in landing.

To

To conſider if the landing places ſhould be taken, what ſtreights and other apt places, there are to make head againſt him.

To appoint by way of diſtribution, certain of the trained men and others, to repair to the ſaid places. To make choice of certain pioneers to reſort unto the places of defence.
To ſee the beacons erected, and well kept.
To ſend certificates of the ſtate of the county.

Further minutes of council about the ſame time, are, *That except it be a general muſter of the whole county, no man may be compelled to go above ſeven or eight mliesto train, in his own diviſion.* That upon any invaſion, the ſoldiers may repair to the next captain's dwelling upon the ſea coaſts, and not go to their own captain, who dwelleth ſome ten miles within land, and leave the coaſt unfurniſhed.

That order be taken, that arms may be ſerved at reaſonable rates at the armourer's office at *Plymouth*.

That an act or order be taken, that all muſkets and piſtols be of a bore, and that thoſe hereafter charged may find ſuch; that the match, powder, and bullets, may be kept in ſome fit place in each diviſion, to be ready when need ſhall require, and to be had at the King's price, as formerly.

There are alſo, orders to conſult with experienced perſons of the country, and conſultations with the Lord-lieutenants, about quartering the troops, deſiring their opinions, which this council was not aſhamed of aſking. Taxes were levied in the different hundreds, for watching their beacons, and inſtructions ſent to the Lord Mayor to preſs Weſt-country barges, to fortify the *Thames*; and the ſame care was extended to all the Southern ports: for there are accounts of no leſs than ſeventeen forts and caſtles, ſpecified in the county of *Suſſex* alone.

Some other intereſting papers are referred to the Appendix, together with the inſtructions iſſued to the Lord-lieutenants of counties, which

which diſplay ſuch admirable wiſdom of good policy, as leaves me to regret that part is yet wanting, which all my endeavours to diſcover, have been ineffectual.

Having ſeen what were the armaments of this kingdom, let us turn to thoſe of the enemy, according to the beſt accounts handed down, which is related as follows.

I omit what belongs to the naval department, having only to mention the troops which could be oppoſed to thoſe of the country.

Camden relates the number of ſoldiers on board the *Armada* - -	19,290
Strype ditto - - -	19,295
Stowe ditto - - -	20,000

Beſides theſe, the Duke of *Parma* had with him 30,000, and the Duke of *Guiſe* was to have brought 12,000 more, but theſe were very early diſbanded. And it is more than probable theſe numbers would have fallen very ſhort in effective fighting men, if we are to judge from

from the following ſtate of the lumber which encumbered the grand part of the expedition

Relation of the ſhippes, munition, victuals and men both ſoldiers and mariners, of the army of *Spaine*. Printed in *Liſburne* and preſented to the King, the 9th day of *May*, 1558.

Soldiers - - - -	18973
Mariners - - - -	8050
Volunteer Gentlemen - -	124
Their Servants - - -	464
Gentlemen ſerving for Pay -	238
Their Servants - - -	163
Gunners and their Mates - -	167
Surgeons and Barbers - -	85
Friars and Orders to Prayer -	180
Gentlemen of the Duke's Houſe	22
Their Servants - - -	50
Muſterers and Overſeers - -	17
Their Servants - - -	50
Juſtices to execute Juſtice - -	19
In the Gallies and Galliaſſes to row with Oars - - -	2088
Total	30,655

Ab-

Abſtract of a Paper tranſmitted to the Lords Lieutenant.

From the *Sloan.* Manuſcripts.

A Note what forces ſhall repair to the principal havens in every county upon the ſea-coaſt, when the enemy ſhall attempt to take land; which forces are to be taken of the beſt and beſt furniſhed men in every ſhire.

Men appointed to repair to *Falmouth* in *Cornwall*, when any enemy ſhould attempt to land. Their men to be employed there, or in other places of the ſhore where moſt need ſhall be.

FALMOUTH,	From Cornwall	4000
	Devon -	4000
	Somerſet	3000
	Total	11000

Men appointed to repair to *Plymouth* in *Devonſhire*, when any enemy ſhould attempt to land, there to be employed.

PLY-

PLYMOUTH,	Devon -	6000
	Cornwall -	2000
	Dorſet -	3000
	Somerſet -	4000
	Wilts - -	2000
		17000
POOLE,	Dorſet - -	4000
	Devon -	4000
	Somerſet -	4000
	Wilts - -	2000
		14000
PORTSMOUTH,	Hants - -	4000
	Wilts - -	2000
	Berks - -	3000
	Suſſex - -	4000
	Surrey -	3000
		16000
Any Port in SUSSEX,	Suſſex -	7000
	Hants - -	3000
	Kent - -	4000
	Surrey -	3000
		15000

Iſle

Isle of Sheppey, or Kent,	Kent - -	6000
	Suffex -	4000
	Surrey -	3000
	London -	3000
	Effex - -	4000
		20000
Harwich,	Effex - -	6000
	Kent - -	4000
	London -	3000
	Hertford -	1000
	Cambridge and Ely	700
	Suffolk -	3000
		17700
Yarmouth,	Norfolk -	6000
	Suffolk -	4000
	Lincoln -	3000
	Cambridge -	700
	Huntingdon -	300
		14000

SUFFOLK,	Suffolk -	7000
	Norfolk -	3000
	Eſſex - -	4000
	Cambridge -	500
	Hurtingdon -	300
	Herts - -	500
		15300

It was the good policy of this reign, to make uſe of talents wherever they could be found; and accordingly, the moſt intelligent gentlemen of each county were applied to for information, relative to the principal circumſtances in their vicinity. And I had an opportunity of admiring the importance of ſuch a meaſure, in the extreme attention paid by two country gentlemen, to a large extent of coaſt; the ſurvey of which is preſerved in a private library, and contains the moſt exact delineation and account of the ſhoals, rocks, clifts, beacons, and landing places, with remarks upon works made or intended, the return of cannon and ammunition, and many obſervations on the ſtrength or weak-

weakneſs of poſts, which even at this day, it would not be prudent to publiſh.——Beſides this, men of approved abilities, were ſent down by the council, whoſe buſineſs cannot be better explained, than by ſubjoining their inſtructions as follows.

HARLEAN MS. 4228 p. 38 b.

Inſtructions given to Sir *John Norris*, and other martial men, ſent into the maritime countrie, the 12th of *April*, 1588.

For as much as it is greatly to be doubted, that in caſe the enemy ſhould make any attempt or diſcent, into any of the maritime counties, for lack of ſome good eſtabliſhed order, both for the impeachment of his landing and diſcent, and the choiſe of ſome apt and fit places for retreat of forces to withſtand him, and for erecting the body of an army to make head againſt him, great confuſion is like to fall out, to the diſmaying of the good ſubjects, and the encouraging of the enemy. It is thought meet by her Majeſty, that ſome perſons of ſkill and judgment, ſhould be ſent down to conſer

with the ſeveral lieutenants of the maritime counties, for the eſtabliſhing of ſome ſuch good orders; whereby the confuſion likely to enſue, may be avoided. And for that there hath been ſpecial choiſe made of you, in reſpect of your ſkill in martial affairs, to take a view of the counties of A, B, C, D. you ſhall with as much ſpeed as you may, make your repair to the ſaid counties, beginning at the county of A, and ſo to continue and proceed in the viewing of the ſaid ſeveral counties, until you ſhall have finiſhed the ſervice according to the directions hereafter following.

Firſt, you ſhall receive our letters, directed to the ſeveral ſheriffs of the counties committed to your charge, by the which they are required to notify unto the lieutenant of the ſeveral counties, that her Majeſties pleaſure is, that they repair to their towns of each county, or to the principal place in the ſaid county, uſually accuſtomed for ſuch aſſembly, to meet with you at ſuch time, as by your particular letter ſhall be ſignified unto the ſaid ſheriff; you ſhall at the aſſembly make the ſaid lieutenants,

nants, or their deputies, acquainted with the cauſe of your repair thither, and require them by virtue of ſuch letters as you ſhall receive from her Majeſtie for that purpoſe, to aſſiſt you in the ſervice committed to your charge.

And firſt, for the viewing of the places of deſcent, you ſhall let them underſtand that her Majeſties pleaſure is, that both they and you ſhall repair to the ſaid places, accompanied only with ſuch perſons as have ſkill, and men of truſt, for it is thought convenient, that there ſhould not be many acquainted with the danger and weakneſs of the ſaid places.

And after a view taken of the ſaid places, you ſhall, after conference had with the ſaid lieutenants, deliver unto the ſaid lieutenants, in writing, your beſt advice for the impeaching of the enemies deſcent; as alſo how the forces of the country may make their retreat with ſafety and honour, to ſuch places of ſtrength, as by you ſhall be thought meet.

Amongſt

Amongſt other things, it ſhall be very requiſite, that ſome of the beſt trayned bands within that county, and beſt furniſhed with martial men, be appointed to impeach the ſaid deſcent, to be executed according to ſuch directions as by you ſhall be given to the ſaid lieutenants, with the advice of ſuch captains as you ſhall leave there to aſſiſt the lieutenants, and to ſee due execution of ſuch advice as you ſhall leave with them in writing.

After the view of the ſaid places of deſcent, you ſhall then conſider of ſome fit place within the ſaid counties, that by the ſituation, with the help of ſome rivers or other ſtraights, ſhall be moſt fit, with the uſe and aſſiſtance of the pioneers, to be put in ſome ſuch ſtrength, as may be able to make head unto the enemy, and to ſtay his incurſions until ſuch time as the forces of other counties appointed to yield aſſiſtance, ſhall repair th'ther; as alſo, until they ſhall receive orders and directions from her Majeſtie, how to proceed, and deal with the enemy.

And

And forasmuch as nothing will be more neceſſary for the ſtrengthening ſuch places of defence upon the ſuddain, than the uſe of many pioneers, and other artificers, you ſhall require the ſaid lieutenants in her Majeſties name, to take a ſpecial care, to have ſuch numbers of pioneers in a readineſs, as by you ſhall be thought ſufficient for the ſtrengthening the ſaid places of retreat; and to ſee that there be proviſion made of mattocks, ſpades, ſhovels, and all other neceſſaries fit to be uſed and employed in that ſervice, by the ſame pioneers: you ſhall alſo give directions unto the ſame lieutenants, how ſuch horſemen as are within the ſame counties, may be beſt employed in the champion or plaine places of the ſaid counties, as well for the annoying of the enemy, as for the defence in the retreat of ſuch bands, as ſhall be uſed in the impeaching of the enemies deſcent: you ſhall alſo take a view in the ſaid counties, of the ſeveral bands, both horſemen and footmen; and in caſe you ſhall find them not ſufficiently trayned, or not that choce made of the men, or not ſo ſufficiently furniſhed with armour and weapon, as appertaineth

taineth, you ſhall require the ſaid lieutenants, in her Majeſties name, to ſee the ſaid defects reformed, and to take order with the ſaid captains whom you ſhall leave in the ſaid counties, as well to put the ſaid lieutenant to ſee ſpeedy redreſs of the ſaid defects; as alſo to employ themſelves in the trayning of the ſaid bands, as well horſe as foot.

Amongſt other matters of importance to be obſerved, you ſhall confer with the ſaid lieutenants, in caſe the enemy ſhould take footing, on land, how there may be good order taken, for the removing into the inland parts of the country, of all manner of cattle, victuals, and other neceſſaries, that may in any ſort relieve the enemy; and to ſee the places of retreat furniſhed with a convenient portion of victuals for the number of forces that ſhall be there placed.

For execution whereof, it ſhall be meet that ſome ſpecial perſons ſhall be appointed, that ſhall be men of credit and diſcretion, fit for that ſervice, for that otherwiſe, it is likely there will

will fall out a great confuſion; you ſhall alſo confer with the ſaid lieutenants, about the due execution of ſome neceſſary points contained in former inſtructions, as have been heretofore given unto them, whereof you ſhall have a copy, ſo far forth as they ſhall not be found repugnant to theſe preſents.

And for her Majeſties ſatisfaction in the mean time, untill you return, you ſhall certify from time to time, how you find the ſtate of the ſeveral counties, after you have taken a view of them, and ſhall ſend a copy of ſuch directions as you ſhall leave with the ſaid lieutenants.

And whereas this ſervice might ſeem to require many other particular directions; forasmuch as by theſe inſtructions, it might appear unto you, that her Majeſties intention is to have the forces of theſe counties to be made apt, and in readineſs for a ſervice, and all things neceſſary for defence provided accordingly; upon conference with the lieutenants or deputies, and view of the forces, and ſtate of

the countries, you ſhall be able to conſider and conceive, what you think further meet to be done in that behalf. Wherein, and in all things meet to adorn this ſervice, you ſhall give your beſt advice to the ſaid lieutenants and direction for executing that which ſhall be thought requiſite.

Convinced, that nothing I can offer, would be ſo intereſting as this hiſtoric authentication of the principles of defenſive war in general, and their immediate application to this particular iſland. I ſhall be juſtified in ſhewing the teſtimony of another hiſtorian, whoſe expreſſions are ſtrong enough to carry a conviction, how the conduct of this great princeſs, has ever impreſſed the minds of thoſe who thought upon the ſubject.

Rapin ſays, that beſides the armies there was in each county a body of militia well armed, under leaders who had orders to join one another as occaſion ſhould require. The ſea ports were fortified, as much as the time would permit, and ſignals were every where appointed

to

to ſhow the places where the troops were to march.—In ſhort, it was reſolved that if the *Spaniards* made a deſcent, the country about them ſhould be laid waſte, that they might have nothing to ſubſiſt upon but what they brought from the fleet. This was the courſe taken by *Francis* I. in *Provence* againſt *Charles* V. with a ſucceſs that anſwered his expectation. Theſe meaſures being taken the enemy was expected with uncommon alacrity, though it ſhould ſeem that on ſuch an occaſion every one ſhould have been in the utmoſt conſternation.

The hiſtorian afterwards expreſſes the Queen's juſt dread, becauſe if ſhe could not hinder the *Spaniards* from landing in *England*, ſhe muſt neceſſarily reſolve to hazard a battle, the country not being proper to prolong the war.—But he allows if ever ſhe diſcovered ability, it was on this important occaſion, for ſhe looked to every thing with a wonderful prudence and a preſence of mind, rarely to be found in the greateſt men, and which gained her the admiration and praiſes of all the world.

From this view of the tranſaction of the year 1588, it will clearly be deduced that Queen *Elizabeth* and her miniſters adjudged a general line of defence neceſſary to be traced out and adopted beforehand, and that they accordingly did adopt ſuch a plan: that their meaſures were wiſe, and ſalutary; formed on true principles, and ought to be adverted to in ſimilar ſituations.—That intelligent perſons were every where conſulted; and the inhabitants countenanced to aſſociate a conſiderable time (*Stowe* ſays three years) beforehand. That the ſyſtem of harraſſing the enemy, deſtroying forage, throwing up entrenchments, and avoiding battle was particularly inculcated. *That the troops of the maritime counties were ſtudiouſly appointed to the defence of their own coaſts*, and that the Queen took all theſe precautions notwithſtanding ſhe had an active navy, which alone under God defeated the armada, and a land force *actually embodied* ſuperior to what was bringing againſt her.——Theſe are part of the material deductions this narrative affords; the intelligent reader will find ſo many others, that he will pardon the pointing theſe out, in con-

conſideration of the numbers who in reading hiſtory retain faithfully all its *events*, without extracting one ſolid opinion, or maturing their judgment by a ſingle reflection, which is but the triumph of memory over the underſtanding.——How much better would it be if our youth were inſtructed to conſider facts as but the ſcaffold to a nobler ſtructure. The inflexibility of an impartial magiſtrate, the *Juſtice to herſelf ſevere* might be derived from a former impreſſion without immediately recollecting *Brutus*, and even if the name of *Lycurgus* were forgotten, a conviction might remain that the love of pleaſure, and the dread of ſhame were powerful ſprings of action, one of which is wholly unknown to modern legiſlators, the other rarely applied to.——If the records of antiquity are merely to be turned over for the adventures they contain, they ſhould be appropriated to the uſe of nurſeries, ſome old goſſip made *Cuſtos Rotulorum*, and *Tom Thumb* would be the firſt of hiſtories.—The human mind being only capable of retaining and combining a finite quantity of intellectual matter there needs little heſitation to pronounce, that

it

it ſhould conſiſt of the moſt valuable and refined ſubſtance; hence chronology is the very chaff of literature.—The defects of our public education in this point, are perhaps without remedy, but that thoſe entruſted with the charge of a ſingle pupil ſhould ſtuff his head with the rubbiſh of words, dates, and names, is not to be forgiven.—Neceſſity has furniſhed a wiſer ſyſtem for arts and manufactures, a painter, a muſician apply at once to the inſtruments of their profeſſion. A carpenter uſes thoſe tools by which he is to earn his bread, but the art of employing reaſon, which is to be the end of ſcientific education, forms no part of it. *Rouſſeau* indeed taught his *Emile* to think for himſelf, but he thinks for himſelf only; without extending his ideas ſufficiently to the relative eſtabliſhments of ſociety. This principle of diving conſtantly beyond the ſurface for ſomewhat to bear off, explodes all trifling.—The mind habituated to ſubſtance graſps at no ſhadows. This at once let *De Retz* into the character that could obſerve how many years the ſame pen had been employed.—This taught *Alexander* to reward with a buſhel of corn,

corn, the man whoſe merit conſiſted in toſſing the grains through the eye of a bodkin. To appreciate the ſterling value of things is ſurely the grand object, and for want of this knowledge there exiſts at this day a man of great reading, who can tell the author, date, printer, price, edition, and ſize of almoſt every book extant, without having ever made the ſmalleſt enquiry into the contents of any of them.—What ſuch intenſe application might have atchieved, is leſs material than to obſerve, that he, who abſorbed in ſolid reflection ſhould even confound *William the Conqueror* with *William Prince of Orange*, would in point of ſcience ſcarce appear leſs reſpectably verſed in hiſtory, than the more faſhionable reader whoſe head unembarraſſed by meditation retained every date, without one remark on the origin of power, and thoſe breaches of the ſocial contract, under which it was delegated that ſanctified the Revolution; or who views the *Norman* conqueſt without perceiving its effects on our laws and cuſtoms, or obſerving that *Harold* ſacrificed his crown and his life to an ignorance of the firſt principles of denſenſive war.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

General Idea of Defence.—Utility of Aſſociation.

TO ſuppoſe a plan of operations for an enemy who ſhould land in this country, would be abſurd in him who wanted abilities, and attended with worſe conſequences from the ſoldier who poſſeſſed them. But a few general remarks either on matters notoriouſly public or palpably obvious, may awaken attention at home, without conveying other information abroad than it would be ridiculous to conceive an enemy unpoſſeſſed of. It may therefore be ſaid, that as the ſouth and weſtern coaſts offer the neareſt and moſt advantageous footing to the Houſe of *Bourbon*, its attacks would probably be directed to ſome of thoſe; whilſt

whilſt, if a ſpirit of enterprize ſeize the *Dutch* the eaſtern part of the iſland preſents a ſhore well known, and invitingly contiguous.—It is unfortunately needleſs to debate whether the *Engliſh* navy be in a ſituation to block up an armament, which is within the recollection of better days; but were thoſe days to return, *Holland* might have a ſhare in the buſineſs not ſo pleaſant to deal with; there is no riding near her ſhores in bad weather, and the ſame winds that could waft them hither would effectually oppoſe our fleets meeting them.—Again while *Spithead* is our head quarters, if our weſterly trade winds ſet in, what ſecures the weſtern counties from *Breſt* or *L'Orient*.

The want of a ſufficient object is indeed a conſideration at ſuch a diſtance from the capital, eſpecially as *Plymouth* warned by her miraculous eſcape, is too ſtrong for a *coup de main*, and we have too much cavalry for an enemy to think of penetrating through *Dorſetſhire* or *Hants*.—*Suſſex* and *Kent* are full of poſts, that might be defended by the inhabitants, provided their own militia were left to

ſecond them, and the principal force of the realm has been very properly diſtributed Eaſt of the capital.—Notwithſtanding my profeſſing to diſcuſs nothing but topics univerſally known, I have been prevailed on to mutilate this chapter, by obliterating all obſervations on ſpecific enterpriſes, or particular diſtricts. I ſhall therefore proceed to obſerve that, beſides the great general principles of defenſive war, there are certain conſiderations of no leſs moment, adapted to the peculiar ſituation, ſoil, extent, and government of every country. Of theſe, examples but too recent may be derived from *America* and the *Weſt Indies*. In the firſt, a prodigious tract of dominion, thinly peopled, and partially cultivated, throws a very ſmall portion of national wealth into the hands of an enemy. An inroad of an hundred miles produces comparatively the moſt trifling devaſtations. While in the iſlands all this is preciſely reverſed, the growing crop, the utenſils, the negroes, and the buildings bear ſuch a vaſt proportion to the value of the territory itſelf, that all ſyſtem of defenſive war becomes totally impracticable. The chance of an immediate

diate engagement is the only reſource of the inhabitants, and its event at once decides all conteſt.—Between theſe, *Great Britain* ſteers a kind of middle courſe, equally incapable of ſupporting all the conſequences of continental conduct; and preſerved from the deſperate expoſure of *Weſt Indian* neceſſity.—It is therefore obvious, that her defenſive operations muſt partake of both, And if the inroads of an invader are to be limitted without the dangerous experiment of a battle, it muſt be atchieved by ſuch univerſal preparations of reſiſtance, as may impede his progreſs, and raiſe a ſeries of obſtacles conſtantly accumulating, till they become inſurmountable.—Theſe are not the production of an hour. Nothing but a garriſoned fortreſs or a compleat overthrow, occaſions an immediate check. The firſt we are not furniſhed with. The latter muſt not be hazarded while the controul of fortune may decide the victory which ſkill and valour have in vain conteſted. Whoever has ſtudied the geography of this iſland with a military eye, will foreſee an event far within the ſcale of human poſſibility; it is, that an enemy wholly un-impeded

by the efforts of the neighbourhood, may in certain ſituations be able to penetrate ſo far, before our army could take poſt in force, as to render it impoſſible for that army to cover the capital without an engagement.—A particular ſpot unfortified can only be maintained by an action, at the will of thoſe who mean to carry it. All operations of delay allow ſome loſs of ground, and the loſing ground neceſſarily ſuppoſes a ſcope, and choice of interior poſts, which every mile does not furniſh.—
—There are caſes when the retarding an enemy's progreſs for a ſingle day, might aſſemble and afford the *Britiſh* army every ſituation it wiſhed for. It is therefore of momentous importance, that the obſtructions be immediate. Not to oppoſe the very landing would be madneſs, and with reluctance the melancholy fact is extorted, that at this inſtant they are places wherein it might be effected by almoſt any number, without a ſingle ſhot being fired, after three years alarm of projected invaſions.

Admitting therefore, as we muſt, the poſſibility of this being atchieved; it would be unwiſe

unwiſe to reject the ſmalleſt aſſiſtance, or to conclude that becauſe a body of armed peaſants were not likely to repell the enemy, they could not annoy him: when the very ſhadow of reſiſtance would have weight, and would compel ſuch manœvures and arrangements as muſt breed inconceivable delay. A ploughman may at leaſt break down a bridge as effectually as *Vauban* himſelf could have done it; and his neighbours may be equally active in deſtroying the roads that would conduct pontoons to the river; perhaps too a few volunteers firing from the oppoſite bank might oblige him to bring up cannon before they were diſlodged,

Hence the propriety of armed aſſociations, a meaſure which we have ſeen *Queen Elizabeth* wiſely promoting: and if we conſider the names that compoſed her council, and the ſucceſsful reſult of their proceedings, perhaps even our more enlightened miniſtry need not hold them abſolutely in contempt.

To carry the plan of aſſociation generally into execution, little more is neceſſary than

for

for government to trace out one regular rational outline; which it would be hard not to give them credit for, conſidering the variety of modes in which it might be deſigned, and the numerous expedients for giving it the neceſſary ſtability,—Let us ſuppoſe a legiſlature entering philoſophically into the ſources of human conduct, and diſcovering, that a manly candid ſtate of our internal reſources would appeal to the underſtanding of the wiſe; that a new and intereſting employ would awaken the curioſity of the light; that opportunities of public exhibition would allure the vain; and ſome well deviſed honorary diſtinctions, however trifling, feathers, medals, or cockades of different gradations of colour would operate upon all. The human heart is in no ſtate inſenſible to glory, To command the attention of an applauding ſenate, to roar the beſt catch in a drunken club, have each their charms; and the moſt dexterous in a gang of pick-pockets has as much envy in his way, as ever the juſtice of *Ariſtides* excited, and probably more rivals.

Let

Let not therefore the pride of pompous affectation raiſe a contemptuous ſneer, at the homely rewards of village virtue. To have their actions recited in the ſongs of dancing virgins, foſtered all the *Spartan* heroiſm. Perhaps the name of the moſt meritorious aſſociator recorded in gilt letters, in a country church, would tranſmit a local reputation to his poſterity, as much emulated as any honours hiſtory can beſtow on thoſe who move in higher orbits. *England*, thus arrayed, could never afford an opportunity of diſplaying perſonal intrepidity in real action, to decide theſe claims, for no power on earth, would venture to invade her; therefore, a conſtant attendance at the exerciſes, and expertneſs in them, might be the merits to deſerve diſtinction, and the mode of conferring it fairly, might be borrowed from the Oſtraciſm of the *Athenians*.

Without entering into a minute detail of any one plan, it is evident, on theſe principles, many might be adopted, to furniſh *Great Britain* with an army, conſiſting of every inhabitant capable of the operations of defenſive war;

war; which includes infinitely more than thoſe fit to bear arms, for the aged and children in retiring, might drive off the cattle, and the women themſelves could make cartridges, light beacons, &c. if ſuch exertions could by any poſſibility be required. However, without ſeriouſly propoſing to employ females in this line, it is to be wiſhed the policy of this country had been ſuch, as to have reſtored by their means, an immenſe number of men to the ſervice of the community, who are ignobly ſtolen from it by feminine profeſſions. An effective man making ſtays, perriwigs, or gloves, is throwing away *Hercules* at a diſtaff; at any period it is ridiculous, in theſe days it ſhould be criminal. In every commercial ſtate, the aggregate of private coutributions to the public wealth, ſhould be a *maximum*; at leaſt, it will be the nearer perfection, as the reſult of individuals labour approaches to the greateſt poſſible. But if we employ a crane to raiſe a pincuſhion, our mechanic powers are ill employed. I ſhall hardly take upon me to ſay, what women are not fit for, having ſeen them at *Teignmouth*, become excellent mariners; and in other countries performing

forming all the operations of huſbandry, while in this, it is ſurely hard upon the ſex, to be almoſt entirely reſtrained to the profeſſions of milliners, mantua-makers, or proſtitutes, and even to have theſe encroached upon.

The neceſſities of the ſtate, in every age, have awakened the feelings of its members. Danger can give activity to the ſupine, and vigour to the weak. Fertile in expedients, and rapid in its execution, its approach calls forth new reſources.—No ſooner had the hoſtile banners of *Bourbon* appeared off *Plymouth*, than the whole weſtern coaſt was in the field, and as if ſome new *Cadmus* had ſown his ſerpents teeth, the country teemed with armed men. Not a village but preſented its volunteer company, not a hamlet but aſſociated with the next. Fifteen hundred men raiſed in a few hours, by one gentlemen * and his neighbours, ſet off inſtantly with a numerous body of priſoners, and after the fatigues of three days very unpleaſant march, were not diſſatisfied at being obliged to guard

* Mr. Baſtard, of Kitely.

them all night in the fields. When they arrived at *Exeter*, the inhabitants of that city, had already formed themſelves into five ſuch companies, for character, reſpectability of fortune, as perhaps, were never before aſſembled. Theſe with moſt diſtinguiſhed humanity, were drawn up in readineſs, to relieve their exhauſted neighbours, the moment they arrived; and continued guarding the priſoners ſeveral weeks, with unremitted attention; gentlemen of the beſt property, taking their tour to ſtand centinel as regularly, and diſcharging the duty at leaſt as faithfully, as any high-dreſſed ſoldier whatever.

This was beginning to make the efforts of the country appear reſpectable; had the enemy remained, a very ſhort time would have rendered them formidable; and doubly ſo they might have been, if any ſyſtem had been adopted beforehand, or any arrangements made to unite the gallantry of individuals, and direct its efforts to the general good. For want of this, thouſands remained inactive, with both the wiſhes and abilities for ſervice.—Others

again

again felt the neceſſity of concentrating their force, and aſſembling in bodies; ſtill without an object, but burning with ſuch an ardour to be uſeful, that folly herſelf would call it madneſs, to diſqualify them for it in future.

In every ſtate liable to invaſion, armed aſſociations ſhould be early adopted and encouraged, on every principle of patriotic prudence. The word Patriotic, is uſed with no party deſignation. To miniſters themſelves, I cannot heſitate to attribute that patriotiſm, which would protect this country from tyranny, or any oppreſſions but their own, and even faction would unite in any well-formed plan, for national ſecurity. Yet it has been held out as the language of the day, that the people are not to be truſted with arms. A doctrine illegal, impolitic, and which can only originate in guilt or error. The univerſal underſtanding of an enlightened nation, is ſurely to be depended on. Corruption or depravity may influence the conduct of the ruling few, and direct the force of the unhappy nation they miſguide, againſt its own colonies; but when the many are left to

the operation of their reaſon, their weapons can only threaten the enemies of their country. And ſhould a race nurtured in its boſom, merit that ungracious appellation? Heaven forbid, their being miniſters would ſcreen them from the vengeance of an injured people! However cheriſhed, however protected, the very hand that raiſed them is impotent to break their fall. Much indeed, has been ſaid and written, on the enervated depravity of the age; but diſſipation, however hoſtile to the redundance of that virtue which diſtinguiſhed our illuſtrious anceſtors, ſtill leaves a ſpring to actuate the minds of their deſcendents, however unconſcious of its power, however weakened in it. There are reſources, which a torpid inſenſibility alone can deſtroy; and that ſtate can never be the lot of *England*, ſo long as the very form of her conſtitution is preſerved. The liberty of the preſs alone, becomes the *Palladium* of our feelings, and guarantees us from the danger of inertneſs. The ſanguine animation of individuals may anticipate the hour of danger, but the ſolid ſpirit of the nation kindles at the inſtant of its arrival. A certain latent ſpark pervades every rank,

rank, and inſpires every breaſt; ſome caſual blaſt excites a conflagration, and the whole explodes. Even *Blackſtone*, allows there are caſes when *the nation has very juſtifiably riſen*. But the reſentment of an injured people, in this northern climate, however ultimately deciſive; has at all times appeared to be tardive, and met the deriſion of thoſe who were doomed to be its object. The favourites of monarchs, confided in the power of their maſters, without once recollecting, that it failed at the ſame moment it became neceſſary to their own preſervation. The Penſioned Conſtellation * of party literature, in the ſame work where he goes out of his way to call *Hampden the Zealot of Rebellion*; remarks the inſenſibility of *James* the Second's courtiers to the dangers of the precipice they ſtood on. What could appear more hopeleſs than the Revolution, when *another Zealot of Rebellion*, the gallant *Ruſſel*, lamented its impoſſibility, *becauſe we had no great men left*. Yet even his father lived to witneſs it; lived to ſee the weak monarch taught, that

* Viz. *Urſa major*.

† See Lord *Ruſſel's* Speech on his Trial.

royalty

royalty in ſuch hands, is but the gilded weather-cock that tops the ſtructure of the ſtate. A ſtorm rends its ſides, an earthquake roots up the foundation, and the atom periſhes unenquired for in the ruin. A blaſt too impotent to ſhake the walls, may overſet the bauble, and leave the fabric unimpaired; to ſtand the wonder of ſucceeding ages, with the illuſtrious dignified names of *Brunſwick*, or *Naſſau*. Thus may it long continue, ſpite of the machinations of thoſe who would deſtroy its ſymmetry, and have diſmembered its domain, flattering themſelves that while they can drown the voice of juſtice, its hand can never reach them; or confiding in the idea that this country, however irritated, can make no exertions, *becauſe we have no great men left*, as if, even admitting it to be true, great events would not produce ſuch. From what neſt of fanatics, ſprang the infant *Cromwell?* where ſlumbered the immortal *Waſhington*, till oppreſſion called him forth the Saviour of his country.

Whatever may be the tenets of the court on theſe prints, it ſeems beyond he trackleſs chaos of

of political caſuiſtry, to frame one plauſible objection againſt arming every inhabitant of a free country, and training him with all neceſſary attention. An army ſuperior by its numbers, infinitely ſo by its conſtituents, to whatever the combined navies of *Europe* could land in this iſland, might be formed without expence; and which, excepting the article of dreſs, might in one ſummer confeſs no inferiority to any opponents. If this be really an inferiority or not, I ſhall leave to the diſcuſſion of modern diſciplinarians, and army taylors, who all are equal to it. Whether a man fights beſt in a red coat, or a carter's frock; a ſlouched hat, or fool's cap and feathers, are diſquiſitions too nice, to be raſhly entered upon.—But if the yeomanry, the farmers, the huſbandmen of the country; together with the tradeſmen and mechanics of great towns, were trained to the uſeful parts of a ſoldier's employ, which after all, contains nothing myſterious or intricate; our troops might extend their conqueſts on every ſide of the globe, and this nation remain in perfect ſecurity, competent to its own defence.—Train them to martial exerciſes, and

every

every village, whoſe defiles offered a *Thermopylæ* could furniſh a *Leonidas*; for the rudeſt ploughman in an *Engliſh* cottage, wants nothing but the habitude of arms, to be formidable in uſing them. Courage forms a great part of the education of our lower ranks, and of all the qualities of the mind, none is more artificial.—In thoſe of more elevated ſtations, it aſſumes another name; and although a different texture of nerves, or degree of activity, may produce different modifications of it; yet every man of honour has preciſely the ſame fund of courage at the bottom, whether it be ſoberly confined, or fretting out at the bunghole.—The defence of one's country is however one of the few general lights in which it can be fairly compared or reaſoned upon.—An artificial production muſt depend upon that ſcience, addreſs and practice which have created it. From theſe alone a man derives confidence in every ſituation. A fox-hunter will leap a precipice, a ſailor brave a tempeſt that would diſmay an *Ajax*. *Cæſar* himſelf was timid in a carriage, and regularly obſerved a ſu-

a ſuperſtitious ceremony to avert his danger when he mounted one.

The hiſtory of almoſt every nation abounds with inſtances of ſignal good effects derived from the provident exertions of individuals; and fatal evils ariſing from their ignorance or inactivity. The inroads of the *Scots* formerly kept our northern frontiers conſtantly arrayed, and trained to arms in the ſchool of neceſſity. A danger leſs immediate, frequently expoſed the coaſts oppoſite *France* to be caught unprepared; and whenever that happened they became the victims of their own imprudence. While the ſucceſs which never failed to reward the foreſight of their more alert neighbours, muſt have convicted themſelves, and ſhould remain a monument of wiſdom to their poſterity.

Stowe mentions particularly an Abbot of *Battle* in *Richard the Second*'s time, who twice preſerved the town of *Winchelſea* from French depredations; whilſt the inhabitants of *Rye*, "*in confidence of ſtrength*," expoſed themſelves to a defeat, which occaſioned their town and its beautiful church to be reduced to aſhes and

only eight of themſelves left alive to witneſs it.—The conduct of this gallant Abbot is the more meritorious, when after evincing his courage by volunteering dangers which his profeſſion exempted him from, he had good ſenſe enough to reſtrain that courage from urging him beyond the limits of defenſive war. Thus when the enemy wearied out by his diligence, at their ſecond viſit had in vain endeavoured by all means to bring him to action, they at length ſent to him, " requeſting that if hee " woulde not have peace, he would ſend forth " to fighte man, to man; or more in number " if hee woulde to trie the matter in viewe of " armes, but neithere woulde the Abbot admitte " the one requeſte or the othere, ſaying hee " was a religious man, and therefore not to " admitte ſuch petition, and that hee came not " thither to fighte but to defend, and preſerve " the peace of the countrie."——Had the *Iſle of Wight* men been equally wiſe, they would not have loſt their iſland as they did about this time, by ſuffering the enemy to land, on purpoſe to give him battle.

The

The nation who in times of danger has nothing to depend on but a ſtanding army is in a ſituation to be pitied; but, if this country, all powerful in reſources, neglecting them, ſhould look up to an army that hardly exiſts, the moſt humane ſpectator, even if too benevolent to laugh at our abſurdity would at leaſt diſpenſe with any tribute of compaſſion.

The advantages which ariſe from pre-eſtabliſhed order impreſs themſelves forcibly upon our reaſon in every tranſaction liable to buſtle and confuſion; theſe advantages it is vain to expect in the tumult of action. To be ſerviceable then, men muſt have their leſſon at hand. A wiſe miniſter can in all ages and all governments find means to form aſſociations, and make ſervice palatable, when ſuch plans do not originate in the people themſelves; *Robertſon*, in ſpeaking of *Cardinal Ximenes* ſays, "As "mercenary ſtanding armies were unknown "under the feudal government, and would "have been odious to a martial and generous "people, he iſſued a proclamation, command-"ing every city in *Caſtile* to enrole a certain

" number of its burgeſſes in order that they
" might be trained to the uſe of arms on *Sun-*
" *days and hollidays*; he engaged to provide
" officers to command them at the public ex-
" pence, and as an encouragement to the pri-
" vate men, promiſed them an exemption from
" all taxes and impoſitions.—"

Not only every appeal to the ſenſes and under-ſtanding ſhould be made in favour of this meaſure, but there are periods, when government ſhould ſubſtantiate rewards; although penalties ſhould rarely be inflicted on thoſe who witheld their ſervice. Every philoſophic principle of legiſla-ture, convinces us that rewards, if not equally powerful, are a much nobler ſpring of action, than puniſhments; and as theſe have only the negative effect to deter from evil, they muſt be miſplaced, when the active virtues are to be rouſed that impel to good. Conſidered how-ever in ſome points of view, all local gratifi-cations, partake of the nature of puniſhments operating over a certain circle, wherein they tend either to increaſe diſparity of condition already obnoxious, or to create it.

However

However education may humanize the mind, there exiſts in every breaſt an innate love of equality, which it never ſees violated with ſatisfaction. Good breeding, and good ſenſe, but conceal or moderate its effects; for the beſt heart, howevever ſincerely it rejoice at the ſucceſs of thoſe in remote ranks, either above him or beneath, witholds its delight at the luck which immediately conſtitutes a ſuperior of an equal,—Fortunately for human nature, vanity ſteps in and extends the line which levels our philantrophy. Some intrinſic perfection, ſome peculiar quality ſteals us a few inches above ourſelves, and ſoftens the harſh deformity of every ſtep into an imperceptible ſlope. My title conſoles me for *Burke*'s virtue; my property outbalances *Charles Fox*'s genius; and *Keppel* with all his country's wiſhes wants my conſtitution. In ſhort, if comforts of every other kind are denied, the redundancy of mental qualifications will compenſate for all defects. Here the Gods have been profuſe in univerſal liberality. Want of health, figure, or fortune are frequent ſubjects of repining; education is ſometimes blamed, but no man ever ſeriouſly complained

complained of the ſhallowneſs of his capacity, or impeached the juſtice of Providence for giving his neighbour a larger ſhare of intellect. —It ſeems, as if not light itſelf could be more plentifully or more equally beſtowed. The *tree of knowledge* grows in every hedge, and an *Agrarian Law* divides the realms of ſcience to the perfect ſatisfaction of every individual. *Rochefoucault*, who looked through human nature with a penetration unblunted by the affectation of common-place benevolence, painted what he ſaw in vivid tints, without the varniſh of flattery, and obſerves that "*in the adverſity, even of our beſt friends, we always find ſomething to conſole ourſelves*;"—at leaſt it is certain, that no man is completely miſerable for any misfortunes but his own.

With regard therefore to aſſociators, the rewards of thoſe who aſſembled, might be indirectly, penal upon non-conformiſts, by half-rating the firſt to the revenue in ſome inſtance, as *Roman Catholics* are doubled. A pariſh ſtill raiſing its quota, the reſidue muſt of courſe fall on the others.—Or, it not being poſſible

to

to foreſee how few or how numerous the diſſentients would be in particular diſtricts, the ſeſſions might be furniſhed with a general power of relieving from highway duty, and ſaddling it on thoſe who refuſed their ſervices to the public in another line.

A variety of ſuch inducements might be held out, which need not be recapitulated, for thank heaven, we have a miniſtry who underſtand the management of douceurs.—Nor do ſuch details, conſtitute any part of an author's buſineſs, whoſe authority is ineffectal towards putting them in practice. It is ſufficient to repeat, that the inhabitants of a county liable to invaſion, ſhould not be unprepared for defence. The modes of compelling, or what is much better, of perſuading them to acquire the requiſite preliminary expertneſs, are almoſt infinite in the hands of legiſlature. The taſk, is ſo far from being arduous or impracticable, that a thouſand plans might be formed, for carrying it into execution; and that ſo effectually, that it ſhould be a diſgrace to a young man, to have miſſed the meeting of his com-

rades

rades. Government might ſell them arms, to be paid for by a pound rate; a tax ſo conſonant to public weal, would hardly be complained of, when our patient endurance ſubmits to ſo many of another ſtamp. The day of exerciſe leaſt inconvenient to the parties, and beſt afforded by an impoveriſhed nation, would be Sunday; eſpecially as the arming in defence of our religion, muſt be deemed no equivocal demonſtration of it; provided our pulpits inculcated it as earneſtly as in the time of Queen *Elizabeth*.

To load with dexterity, to fire with preciſion, to advance and retreat with order, and celerity; the habitude of deriving mutual ſupport, and unity of force, from maintaining a rank, is all that need be learned, and may be acquired in very ſmall detachments.—But if time allowed, the purſuing it through higher gradations of utility; when it became, as it ſoon would, matter of emulative recreation. The villages of a rape might meet each other during the ſummer months, and on thoſe days, be inſtructed in the general outline of irregu-

lar

lar defence, as far as related to throwing up ſlight works, or ſecuring themſelves behind walls, banks, rivulets, and abbatis.—If for this purpoſe, ſome worthy worn-out officer were called with a decent allowance, from penury, and half-pay; it might not be the moſt exceptionable charge of the army extraordinaries.

The greateſt difficulty that occurs in calling forth the ſervice of mixed and large bodies of people, is to avoid confuſion; while a diſtinct eſtabliſhment of regularity is the firſt ſtep to ſucceſsful operation. Men muſt not only know the ſignals which are to call them out, but where they are to aſſemble, for what purpoſe, and the arms or tools neceſſary to effect it. The moſt minute detail of arrangement muſt not be omitted: for the coaſt, on which an enemy attempts to land, will fully need the exertions of all its inhabitants, without a moment to ſpare, in debating how they ſhould be employed. When their labours ought to have already commenced, it is too late to plan them. Country gentlemen cannot be expected to poſ-

ſeſs the knowledge requiſite for general operation.—Here government ſhould take the lead. Engineers of capacity, ſhould be employed to make accurate ſurveys on the coaſts, the rivers, fords, heights, roads, and defiles; with the ſituation of the villages, and number of inhabitants. Theſe ſhould all be derived from actual obſervation, a ſmall diſtrict, not exceeding twenty miles allotted to each, and reports given in, after a reſidence of three or four months. Wherever Perſons properly qualified for this employment could be procured on the ſpot, their information would probably be the moſt ſatisfactory. The emoluments for this ſhould be ſmall, to prevent it becoming a job, and that no diſtinction of parties might have a chance of ſuperſeding abilities. Theſe reports, would be only a foundation for the Commander in Chief to work upon; whoſe labour being ſhortened by inſtructions where to ſeek the important poſts, ſhould viſit them perſonally, eſtabliſh the ſituation of beacons, and trace out the whole plan of defence.—It ſhould be obſerved that hundreds are but an inconvenient diviſion for any but civil purpoſes,

it

it would therefore be better if each county were allotted into military diſtricts, whoſe forces might be more concentrated; each of theſe to elect ſome magiſtrate, or other intelligent perſon, to whom government might communicate the reſult of their enquiries and deliberations ſo far as was proper for his guidance. There appears no neceſſity for conveying the whole of theſe in the nature of poſitive regulations, but partly as matters of inſtruction *. For if it be recommended to break down ſuch a bridge, make an abbatis here, or a fort there, theſe are points, which in the moment of peril will never be conteſted through caprice or ſelf-conceit. Nothing but a certainty of better meaſures from unforeſeen circumſtances can occaſion their being ſet aſide; and no peremptory deciſion at a diſtance ſhould anticipate what events may alter the nature of.

The care of the ſtate ſhould farther extend to the ſupplying ſuch cannon, arms and ſtores, as their reports evinced the propriety of

* Not Law like, but lovingly.——Lord North's letter, 1587. See chap. iii. *ante*

granting; and henceforward the charge devolves upon the magiſtrate or deputy lieutenant above-mentioned, who ſhould loſe no time in arranging matters with the neighbouring gentlemen, and form committees to ſuper-intend the regular trainings, with the addition of tracing a few ſlight works on the ground pointed out, wherever it could be effected.

Perhaps there yet remains ſomething to be guarded againſt, wherein this army of a few villages may require the interference of legiſlation. No man is ſo loſt to all the generoſity of juſtice, which the gallant ſentiments of this nation demand, as to ſuſpect any *Engliſhman* would be backward in his country's cauſe, if ever the hour of trial ſhould arrive; few perhaps are impreſſed with a contrary peril from exceſs of virtue, and how probable it is for an ebullition of valour to arm every peaſant with gun or pitch-fork, without order, without ſyſtem: and totally neglectful of thoſe advantages which were immediately attainable. It ſhould therefore be rendered highly penal in caſe of an actual landing or attempt to land, for any individual

dividual to diſobey the orders of ſuch magiſtrate, always underſtanding this to extend only to his temporary command, 'till the lord lieutenant or other ſuperior legally authoriſed ſhould arrive.——Secure however of this authority when requiſite, all details might be previouſly arranged; and thoſe inhabitants named who ſhould repair with tools to the appointed rendezvous, for the purpoſe of throwing up the firſt work which had been already traced before them. It ſhould alſo be ſpecified who ſhould fire the beacons *, who ride to array the neighbouring villages, and quicken their operations, which are equally methodized.—

* In order that the commanding officer at any camp or poſt with which the beacons communicate, may be able to aſcertain from what part of the coaſt the alarm is firſt given, certain diſtinguiſhing ſignals ſhould be fixed on; for example, from the *Iſle* of *Thanet* to the *South Foreland*, one rocket; from *South Foreland* to *Dungeneſs*, two ditto; from *Dungeneſs* to *Beachy*, three ditto; from *Beachy* to *Brightelmſtone*, four; from *Brightelmſtone* to *Selſey*, five; after which, to avoid confuſion from a number, the next diſtrict might begin again with one rocket, being ſufficiently diſtant from the firſt, to obviate any miſtake from the ſignals being alike. Theſe might alſo be further ſubdivided, if neceſſary.

Other

Other perſons are previouſly allotted to fell trees for abbatis, and prepare faſcines* ; the teams of the neareſt farms to draw them. The cattle to be driven off by another ſet of leſs able men, to be aſſiſted by women and children. In ſhort, every one ſhould know preciſely where he is to be placed, and what are the immediate ſervices his country demands at his hands.

When an enemy has once obtained footing in a country, the laws which neceſſity impoſes upon ſelf-defence are dreadfully ſevere; but like the operations of ſurgery, from ſuch painful ſacrifices alone relief can be expected.—To confidential hands therefore muſt be entruſted the cruel taſk of deſtroying the ſubſiſtence of an enemy; frequently when danger preſſes, conſtrained to devote the very barns and granaries to the flames, and every where oppoſed by the

* It is to be wiſhed ſome uniform ſtandard adapted to military purpoſes could be ſettled, for tying up at leaſt a part of all coppice wood near the coaſts. This might be of great advantage, and the inconvenience ſmall; for faſcines, are as good as any other faggots.

plaints

plaints or curſes of the proprietor.——This ſervice however muſt be qualified by the reſtrictions of prudence; the enemy's ſituation pointing out the moment that muſt ſentence each diſtrict: leſt the ſuperabundance of zeal cauſe unneceſſary devaſtition.—There are villages ſheltered by rivers, woods, or moraſſes which by a little attention to guard and fortify their bridge, avenue or cauſeway, might preſerve their property to the laſt. An open country denies theſe advantages, and as all forage in ſuch is generally the leſs eaſily procured, by ſo much the urgency of having it timely cut off is augmented.

It is not to be expected that the neighbourhood who pour in the firſt day or two of a landing, are to effect more in point of fighting than what the mere preſence of armed men will do; which is to keep the enemy extremely reſtleſs and unquiet, to turn out his guards all night, and prevent his reconnoitring, ſo as to ſecure important paſſes before the arrival of your army.—The impeding his route by multiplied obſtacles is perfectly adapted to the body

Other perſons are previouſly allotted to fell trees for abbatis, and prepare faſcines* ; the teams of the neareſt farms to draw them. The cattle to be driven off by another ſet of leſs able men, to be aſſiſted by women and children. In ſhort, every one ſhould know preciſely where he is to be placed, and what are the immediate ſervices his country demands at his hands.

When an enemy has once obtained footing in a country, the laws which neceſſity impoſes upon ſelf-defence are dreadfully ſevere; but like the operations of ſurgery, from ſuch painful ſacrifices alone relief can be expected.—To confidential hands therefore muſt be entruſted the cruel taſk of deſtroying the ſubſiſtence of an enemy; frequently when danger preſſes, conſtrained to devote the very barns and granaries to the flames, and every where oppoſed by the

* It is to be wiſhed ſome uniform ſtandard adapted to military purpoſes could be ſettled, for tying up at leaſt a part of all coppice wood near the coaſts. This might be of great advantage, and the inconvenience ſmall; for faſcines, are as good as any other faggots.

plaints

plaints or curſes of the proprietor.——This ſervice however muſt be qualified by the reſtrictions of prudence; the enemy's ſituation pointing out the moment that muſt ſentence each diſtrict: leſt the ſuperabundance of zeal cauſe unneceſſary devaſtition.—There are villages ſheltered by rivers, woods, or moraſſes which by a little attention to guard and fortify their bridge, avenue or cauſeway, might preſerve their property to the laſt. An open country denies theſe advantages, and as all forage in ſuch is generally the leſs eaſily procured, by ſo much the urgency of having it timely cut off is augmented.

It is not to be expected that the neighbourhood who pour in the firſt day or two of a landing, are to effect more in point of fighting than what the mere preſence of armed men will do; which is to keep the enemy extremely reſtleſs and unquiet, to turn out his guards all night, and prevent his reconnoitring, ſo as to ſecure important paſſes before the arrival of your army.—The impeding his route by multiplied obſtacles is perfectly adapted to the body

body thus aſſembled, and may be effected to inconquerable perfection.—Trous des loups and fougaſſes if they have plenty of powder, are of eaſy fabric, and a few choſen markſmen in ambuſh near them would ſeldom fail diſconcerting a vanguard. Theſe are the very perfection of irregulars; they are operations attended with little hazard to themſelves, and infinite inconvenience to the enemy. An induſtrious perſevering annoyance will ſupply all deſiderata of military ſkill, and keep the invader at bay, partly by real difficulties, and partly through ignorance of what he has to cope with.

Whatever advantages this country affords which the enemy cannot ſo equally poſſeſs muſt always be attended to. Hence the introduction of fencible cavalry is judicious, in caſe a continental war ſhould call our own abroad, however ſuperfluous it may appear at preſent.—The quantity, the calibre, and eſpecially the length of artillery, are ſtill more eſſential objects. The enemy can bring none but what is of light tranſport, whereas every reſource of horſes, forage and roads is open to us and impracticable

ble for him, even if the difficulties of landing were ſurmounted.—There is however, one exception to long cannon, for whoſoever unites the love of his country to intelligence in the art of gunnery will, above all things recommend the uſe of howitzer, as excelling every other piece of ordnance yet diſcovered, Suppoſing their ſhell to act only as a ball in ſome inſtances, the ſtroke of it is not leſs fatal than any other, and its direction infinitely more certain; but the properties of ſhells are wonderfully more tremendous; for beſides their actual effects the very ſight of them with burning fuſees rolling amongſt the ranks, creates more diſmay than the rapid execution of ten times as many cannon balls. Caſe ſhot of any nature may be adapted to them for cloſe action with prodigious ſucceſs, as a pierrier their uſe in many ſituations would be admirable; and with a trifling alteration in the conſtruction of their carriages, they become ſuperior to a ſimilar mortar, and produce a greater range. Their commodious form, ſmall conſumption of powder, and a variety of other arguments might be alledged, all which may

be much better derived from the fountain head: meaning the corps of artillery; to whoſe diſtinguiſhed merits, the united ſuffrages of all that have ſeen ſervice in the *Britiſh* army do ample juſtice.—Not even the navy of *England* pre-eminent as it ſhines over every other line, can ſurpaſs this body in well-adapted profeſſional talents. Here are no idle extravagancies of attitude in toſſing about a firelock; no preciſe unmeaning motions tempting *Jacquet Droz* to advertiſe a portable ſlugal man of clock work, that ſhould perform the manual exactly in two ſeconds and an half, according to the ordinance. All here is reaſoning and obſervation; philoſophy lends her aid to mathematics, the laws of motion, the flight of ſound, the principles of gravitation, become the objects of ſerious ſtudy and have the inveſtigation of daily practice.—An eſſay on national defence muſt loſe ſight of its object, if it omitted to lament the neglect of a body ſo eſſential to its purpoſes. Reaſon, experience and the practice of wiſer nations all revolt at their treatment; while common ſenſe remains in painful dubiety whether it be more unjuſt, or more impolitic

impolitic to reward ſuch a corps with the proſpect of repeated promotions around, in which themſelves are not included; and to obſerve that the higheſt exertions (which with as laudable wiſhes inferior officers in the army have ſeldom an opportunity of equalling) leave them, after many years invaluable ſervice, junior in rank to every man they ſtarted with, whoſe better fortune placed him in a marching regiment.—However fatal this may ultimately prove to a corps on which our conqueſts and ſecurity depend, its ſource is not difficult to trace. Intereſt and money being ſure grounds of promotion in the army naturally tempt men of family thither, while the inferior diſtinctions of merit and long ſervice are the only plea for preferment in the artillery. Under ſuch different patronage, the riſe of each may eaſily be foreſeen, but it will hardly be wiſe to urge the diſparity too far.

An object ſo important to the military powers of this nation is by no means a digreſſion, and ſince the ſyſtem of modern war allows ſuch conſequence to artillery, all the

militia ſhould be trained to the familiar branches of it. Nor merely for the ſake of informing them as militia, but in the hope that when they are diſbanded, every town may furniſh a number of men capable of working the guns which ſhould be diſperſed throughout the kingdom. Every populous ſpot near the coaſts that ſeems of conſequence, ſhould be provided in time with a ſmall train and ſuitable ſtores, which it requires no multiplication of offices to entruſt in proper hands. The captain of the neighbouring aſſociation, the neareſt juſtice of the peace, even the churchwarden of the pariſh could diſcharge ſuch a truſt with fidelity, for the public good.

I have in my poſſeſſion ſome lances made for an aſſociation in one of our maritime counties about the year 1745, a ſpecies of arms probably adopted from neceſſity; or on falſe principles, if preferred for the purpoſe of forcing an enemy from the cliſts.——It requires the obſervation of veteran troops to diſcover the general inefficacy of fire arms, of which among many inſtances to be found, *Marſhal Saxe* vouches

vouches for one very remarkable. It is of two *German* battalions giving a general volley at a large body of *Turkiſh* horſe, not more than forty paces diſtant and killing only thirty-two men, in conſequence of which the cavalry ruſhed upon them, and they were all cut to pieces in an inſtant.—It is univerſally allowed that not one ſhot in thirty takes place; nor can this be wondered at when we conſider that hitting the mark, which is the perfection of a ſoldier in action, conſtitutes the leaſt part of his military education.—In the ſmall number of trials, I have ſeen, very few from want of habitude attain the object even in the cool moments of exerciſe; no wonder then, ſo many ſhots are thrown away when all the paſſions are afloat.—It is not hence to be inferred that the influence of fear is by any means predominant; for it is certain that in the field it rarely occurs as a principle for individuals; although there are inſtances of momentary impreſſions, creating a general pannic amongſt the braveſt troops *.

* *Marſhal Saxe* alſo mentions an alarm ſpread through a victorious army, only by a caſual exclamation of, *We are cut off.*

A young

A young partridge ſhooter miſſing through the whole day, has certainly no fears about him: yet in the moment of eagerneſs, nothing can bring the piece to its proper level but frequent practice, and the being long inured to its direction.

Thoſe who in a ſeries of engagements, have experienced the comparative harmleſneſs of ſmall arms, might upon occaſion, uſe the pike ſucceſsfully. But a body of raw peaſants impreſſed with murderous ideas of a gun, however they might brave the enemy on equal terms, will never be induced to hazard the firſt onſet within reach of their lances. Yet perhaps, theſe ought not to be wholly exploded, on ſudden emergencies in default of better array. For though inefficacious on the coaſts, there are ſituations in the more internal parts, where trenches might be ſupported by them, joined to the fire arms with which the maritime counties, who had retired inwards, were all provided. This however, ſuppoſes a caſe of obſtinate reſiſtance, which hardly even ought to happen, and alſo a deficiency of muſkets

and

and bayonets, always to be preferred. Suppoſing government only to ſupply theſe for the ſea ports, yet there is an eaſy way of eſtabliſhing a ſtandard of arms for the whole kingdom, adapted to the army ammunition.—And this by a heavy tax on gun barrels not made conformable to the ſtandard for carrying an ounce ball. This can be no grievance, for if every *Engliſhman* have a right to arms, for the defence of his own houſe, this is equal to any in other reſpects, and ſuperior as a branch of national defence. If qualified gentlemen choſe to indulge themſelves in other diverſions for their ſport, the tax would only fall upon a luxury, with the additional ſatisfaction to the financier, of being aſſured by that very qualification, of the party's ability as well as inclination to incur it.

Whenever the invaded are driven to the neceſſity of active war, it can be no other than a war of poſts. Their frequent enterprizes, may attack thoſe of the enemy, but their hourly attention muſt be to the defence of their own. It is needleſs to repeat that the exerciſes of leiſure, ſhould be the rehearſals of

ſervice. Regiments ſhould frequently be thrown into out-houſes, courts, orchards, church-yards, &c. They ſhould be taught to ſeek a breaſt-work in every bank, and a rampart in every wall. They ſhould ſee at the inſtant, what angles of it flanked an enemy's approach; and what other angles, buildings, or abuttments, prevented themſelves being enfiladed. If no ſuch are found, the farmers ſacks ready filled as they may be, or ſtuffed with earth from his garden, from ſuch a traverſe in an inſtant. The advantges of an abbatis, are ſometimes to be compleatly procured in the ſhorteſt time, and there are ſituations wherein they are of eſſential ſervice, A cauſeway, a ford, a hollow paſs, invite ſuch a defence. It is applicable to every road where the adjoining meadows are divided by ditches, as they are near *London*, and in all low grounds; it is ſtill more ſo, where the incloſures are formed by high and woody banks, like *Devonſhire*. No man ſhould be ignorant of the ſtrength his village would acquire by cutting down a few trees, and diſperſing them if poſſible, in ſome ſaliant angle, which he can contrive to flank. With the habitude of ſeeking theſe ad-

vantages,

vantages, every cottage is a fortreſs. But place me a parade ſerjeant in a hamlet with a dozen ſpruce ſoldiers, and let them be aſſailed by a ſuperiority of force; courage may brave the unequal combat, prudence may effect a retreat through the gardens, but wiſdom would have ſeen how ſafely the poſt was to be maintained, had you ever taught it him; or inculcated, that to obſtruct the enemy with the leaſt hazard to the invaded, is the leading principle to defenſive war.

There is no danger of cenſurable tautology, in perpetual repititions of the neceſſity of works for this purpoſe. They ſhould be conſtructed every where, and arranged in ſuch minute detail, that every village ſhould know where to erect them, and on what plan, whatever ſide the enemy advanced on. Thus pre-inſtructed, it ſhould be their care to have them ready againſt the arrival of the army who were to defend them, in caſe themſelves are inſufficient for the purpoſe. Theſe works ought by no means to be ſo reſolutely maintained as to hazard the troops within, who

muſt never be expoſed to be ſtormed or cut off. So long as their retreat is ſafely effected, the enemy obtains no victory, and perhaps, after a ſevere ſlaughter, only finds himſelf maſter of a few hundred yards, preſenting a ſtill ſtronger work before him. The preciſe point of time, at which evacuation is neceſſary, muſt depend on the facility of the retreat, the diſtance of the next poſt, and the ſtrength of that they are defending. Some are tenable if well *fraized* or *paliſadoed*, till the enemy reach the very ditch; a paſſage through the *abbatis*, or more remote defence, may decide the fate of others: but the fundamental maxim of all is ſtill the ſame; to defend them only ſo long as to ſecure retreat. For theſe reaſons, therefore, it ſhould have been obſerved, that aſſociations need not abſolutely conſiſt of men with arms in their hands, ſince a corps of artificers from every village, with hatchets, pick-axes, and ſpades, might be as uſefully employed half a mile beyond the ſcene of action, in conſtructing a breaſt-work for the reſt. This ſort of chicanery may be extended to the moſt inſurmountable degree; there are

poſts

poſts which cannot be turned, and to effect this in any caſe, the enemy, under a variety of diſadvantges, muſt traverſe a larger orbit, whilſt the defenders unembarraſſed, maſter of the territory, and acquainted with its roads, move in the interior circle. This muſt always enable them to perform their marches with ſuch ſuperior rapidity, as to preſent equal difficultes in every new line of operation to which the invaded may be driven; beſides, that all this is effectually gaining time.—And time, by enabling the nation to call forth its moſt diſtant reſources, is in itſelf an hourly victory.

Thoſe who have hitherto written on the different branches of fortification, have conſidered it abſtractedly, without any relative conſideration of circumſtances. However bewildered and ſubdivided in detail this ſcience may be, its firſt principles like that of many others, are extremely ſimple; and there is no man of common underſtanding, with as decent a ſhare of mathematics as every gentleman ought to poſſeſs, but what could acquire a very compe-

tent ſkill in it, more eaſily, than himſelf expects. Every ſcience, it is true, diſplays gradations of merit amongſt its profeſſors, and our corps of engineers, are very far from the bottom of the ſcale; ſome there are, whoſe talents, the proudeſt diſplay of foreign ſchools, might wiſely emulate; yet I have never happened to meet with any ſyſtem of field fortification, adapted expreſsly to defenſive war; and ſtill further, to defenſive war in *Great Britain*. There is a captious facility in putting queſtions, that might aſk if the whole buſineſs of entrenchment, be not defenſive war, and it will be agreed to in a large extent; but great deſiderata ſtill remain. We are taught ably to defend a poſt, teach us to defend a country; theſe are ſurely ideas beyond bare repitition, and multiplication. One reflection ariſes from human nature itſelf. Men will fight on better terms, knowing a ſecure retreat to works replete with new difficulties to the aſſailant.—Another circumſtance ſeems to alter every eſtabliſhed rule of fortification, which is, that (excepting one poſſible caſe, the laſt works round the capital) the troops of the country

muſt

muſt never be expoſed to being cut off, and therefore, the flanking fire ſhould be directed to a remoter diſtance than the ditch of the ſaliant angle. The title of *Le Cointes ſcience des poſtes militaire*, promiſes more than it performs. *Clairac* has not an idea of it; and Capt. *Pleydell* leaves us to wiſh he would enlarge his ſcale.

Againſt a nation properly and univerſally aſſociated for its defence, the ſhalloweſt politician of an hoſtile ſtate would hardly project an invaſion. To level an attack immediately at the ſtrongeſt ſide is too groſs an error for the youngeſt ſoldier; and to land a body of troops in a country like this when arrayed, would be relinquiſhing all chance of equal conflict, with a certainty of incurring every poſſible military diſadvantage, far from every ſource of ſupply for repairing the caſual loſſes, or neceſſary expenditure of war. Whilſt the inhabitants with armies ever recruiting, reſources ever ſpringing, and advantages ever increaſing, would acquire ſtrength and confidence every hour. *Monteſquieu* indeed reports a ſaying, that "the *Engliſh* were never ſo eaſy to

"conquer

" conquer as at home," which he qualifies by agreeing that it only holds good in the caſe of her being exhauſted by diſtant wars; and thus far it is an oracle to warn us againſt the dangers of our preſent ſituation, and point out the urgency of warding the blow, to which our wild heroics in *America* have expoſed us. *Great Britain*, deſtitute of allies, kept at bay by her own colonies, and aſſailed by the moſt formidable confederacy, that ever threatened her dominion, has no army to look up to. That continent wherein the active valour of a *Tarleton* has been debaſed, hardly admired, never applauded *; where *Burgoyne* with courage and with conduct was diſgraced, and where ten thouſand gallant undiſtinguiſhed efforts have been conſigned to periſhable infamy. That fatal continent which not the moſt delirious ſallies of the *Swediſh Charles* could dream of conquering, has ſacrificed an army, that in

* ——————— The Toil of War,
* * * * * * * * * * *
Which hath as oft a ſland'rous Epitaph,
As Record of fair Act; nay, many time,
Doth ill deſerve, by doing well: what's worſe,
Muſt curt'ſey at the Cenſure. CYMBELINE.

defence

defence of this nation might *have braved a world* in arms. What then remains for our ſecurity but to array every citizen and defend ourſelves.——Long e'er the art of ſubſidizing troops created a military ſyſtem uſeful to commercial ſtates, which made a merchandize of ſervice, the nations round bore their own arms, and a man's helmet fitted himſelf alone. Thus our anceſtors were their own avengers, till civilization united to wealth, introduced a more commodious and in moſt reſpects a better plan; but if neceſſity obliges us to revert to antique cuſtoms, we ſhall conſole ourſelves by the recollection that ſuch have been practiſed with ſucceſs, and need not abandon our hopes while we can ſerve ourſelves.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

On the Militia.

WHEN the abolition of the feudal tenures had diſarmed the yeomanry and peaſants, whoſe vaſſalage heretofore rendered them immediate ſoldiers at the call of their reſpective lords, while theſe held their own poſſeſſions under the ſovereign, as lord paramount; it became neceſſary to frame ſome eſtabliſhment of troops, prepared for the inſtantaneous defence of the realm, in caſe of ſudden emergencies. But as neither the exigencies of the ſtate, or its conſtitution, required theſe to be conſtantly embodied; they were only occaſionally trained, and then, on maxims of the ſoundeſt policy, returned to their different occupations. No human inſtitution could

could be more wiſely planned. A body of men, firſt choſen by lot, were particularly deſigned and marked out, whoſe ſervices in the field the nation was entitled to exact without delay. But this was at moſt periods, a remote conſideration, while their duties as citizens were indiſpenſable, and of daily advantge to the community. To this ſyſtem, under various modifications, we owe our preſent militia, the great ſterling defence of this kingdom, and the only army its unſophiſticated conſtitution could acknowledge. Whatever variations have been introduced in partial clauſes, the legiſlature has never yet loſt ſight of the original inſtitution. The inhabitants are ſelected by ballot. Thoſe of the neighbourhood are expreſsly directed to be poſted together. Qualifications too, have been uniformly inſiſted on for the officers, in order to give weight, and ſecurity to the eſtabliſhment. The executive part, has not however kept pace with the ſpirit that enacted theſe ſalutary laws. The fundamental principle of embodying the inhabitants of a county, under the auſpices of their landlords and neighbours, has been completely forgotten.

Qualifications have firſt been ſhamefully evaded, and then neceſſarily diſpenſed with. The admiſſion of ſubſtitutes, in itſelf a fair and reaſonable accommodation under proper reſtrictions, has been univerſally allowed without any limitation, or regulation whatever, to the utter diſgrace and diſparagement of the ſervice. Whenever the perſonal abilities, manual ſkill, or commercial connexions of an individual can, by advancing ſcience, improving manufactures, or any other mode, increaſe national wealth, or ſtrengthen natural defence more than his perſonal ſervice could effect, every idea of moral juſtice unites with political expediency, in accepting ſuch a compromiſe as ſhall be moſt beneficial to the party, as well as to the community at large. But then ſubſtitutes themſeves, ſhould invariably be procured from the ſame county; for neither the private or even the relative ſituation of any ſubject, can authoriſe an alteration that deſtroys the firſt principle of the eſtabliſhment itſelf, and inſtead of arming the moſt repectable body of the neighbourhood, furniſhes a corps of aliens to the counties they repreſent: unacquainted with

with its defence, unconnected with its intereſts, and the heavieſt clog to the recruiting that army, which an annual law, declares neceſſary for the "ſafety of this kingdom, the "defence of the poſſeſſions of the crown of "*Great Britain*, and the preſervation of the "balance of power in *Europe* *."

Beſides this, it ſeems that by the ſpirit of the Militia Laws, our anceſtors had in view the training by ſucceſſion, a much larger body of citizens to the ſcience of defenſive war, than can poſſibly be effected under their preſent ſyſtem. For this reaſon, among many others, by way of prelude to perſonal ſervice, it is to be wiſhed, that during the time of war, when the militia was actually called out and embodied, it could be reduced from triennial to annual. For although the former be a reaſonable period for a peace-eſtabliſhment, yet it will hardly be contended, that one year of conſtant excerciſe, is not more than equivalent to the thrice twenty-eight days, as well as abundantly ſufficient for all the practice and infor-

* Preamble to the Mutiny Act.

mation, neceſſary to make the inhabitant uſeful. At any rate, the uſage of hiring ſubſtitutes, ſhould be clogged with ſome reſtrictions; and whenever difficulties occur, they can be adjuſted by no mode ſo congenial to the principles of our legiſlation, as by the ſummary verdict of a jury, before the deputy lieutenants. The rights of exemption from perſonal ſervice, pleadable in ſuch inſtances, might be the practice of any liberal art, an extenſive commerce, a beneficial manufactory, ill health, and above all, a *jus trium liberorum:* or ſome ſimilar indulgence, ought ſtill to be allowed in this inſtance, as in the preſent depopulating period, it ſhould be in a variety of others. There are alſo caſes, in which a liberal government might indulge inclination, in order to obviate all impreſſions of diſguſt to a ſervice, that ſhould be rendered pleaſant. But then caprice is a fair ſubject for taxation. Conſequently, an exemption from perſonal ſervice, ſhould be allowed *de jure*, without any ſpecific plea for hiring a ſubſtitute, on payment of a fine not leſs than 20 l. or exceeding fifty, to be aſſeſſed by the jury, according to the ability

of

of the party. Without recurring to the acknowledged maxim, of ſuffering a partial evil that a general good may reſult, in order to palliate inconvenience, and in ſome caſes to ſanctify oppreſſion; it may not be difficult to ſhew, that the militia, on its true conſtitutional footing, is no ſuch bugbear as to induce very frequent appeals from the ballot. Reduced, as it is to the footing of a regular army, it acquires inconveniencies not its own, which the farmer, the mechanic, and even the common huſbandman muſt wiſh to obviate, before he can readily embrace it, but theſe grievances, conſtitute no part of the militia eſtabliſhment; on the contrary, they are inconſiſtent with ſound policy, repugnant to the ſpirit of its laws, and foreign to the genius of the conſtitution itſelf. A militia-man fairly conſidered, is not a ſoldier, either by choice or by law. The inhabitants of a country find it neceſſary, amidſt the hoſtilities that ravage the globe, to have ſome internal eſtabliſhment of defence; inſtead of hiring domeſtic or foreign troops, a certain evil, for a precarious good: they adopt the wiſer plan of agreeing by their repreſentatives,

preſentatives, that a number from their own body ſhall be conſigned to this charge; and they caſt lots, to aſcertain the perſons to be arrayed, for a certain ſtipulated period. But the men thus elected, are by no reaſonable conſtruction, ſubject to any other covenants than thoſe of being in readineſs, and in ſufficient training, for the purpoſes of national defence. They have never embraced the profeſſion of arms, or devoted themſelves to the caprice of reforming generals. They have abandoned no privileges, by ſelling the laws of their country, and accepting an arbitrary code in exchange. Their diſcipline, ſays *Blackſtone*, IS LIBERAL AND EASY, and he thinks the articles of war an hardſhip on them, which taken in their extent, they certainly are; for, granting that it may be expedient to form new regulations for every different incorporation of men, it does not therefore follow, that an involuntary and fortuitous predicament, ſhould ſubject a man to the ſame penalties for failure in parade, etiqutte, or even in ſome degree, neglecting a three years charge of a ſingle iſland; as for abandoning the duties of a profeſſion, which by his own act he had devoted

devoted himſelf to for life, ſubject to ſtated regulations, extending to all parts of the globe, and who, at the very making this contract, had received what he choſe to imagine an equivalent.

Paſſing however the articles of war, (notwithſtanding the authority of a *Blackſtone*, and the palpable injuſtice of diſproportioned or arbitrary puniſhments) to avoid all experiment of innovation in the hour of peril. There are points ſtill more eſſential, which that very peril magnifies the importance of. Too long have the maſſive chains of prejudice rivetted our underſtandings; we have equally loſt ſight of what is equitable towards others or uſeful to ourſelves; and in the exerciſe, the diſcipline, the regulation of the militia, we have ſuffered faſhion to introduce all her abſurdities, to the total ſubverſion of more eſſential defenſive principles, and with an outrageous violation of contract, that nothing can extenuate.—It may perhaps require ſome degree of military ſkill, or rather an enfranchiſement from military prejudice to detect the manual exerciſe itſelf, which

like

like the hocus-pocus of a juggler, or Mr. Bayes's plot, is merely calculated to elevate and ſurpriſe; yet however well it may ſerve to ſmarten, or fill up the time of a foot-ſoldier is worſe than abſurd when extended further.—It is not legerdemain, or teaching a man the tricks of a monkey, that can either defend his country, or annoy his enemy. All theſe ceremonial performances ought therefore to be inſtantly exploded as ſenſeleſs and unmeaning; even if the right itſelf of ſadling them upon the militia were enquired into, it would hardly bear diſcuſſion, unleſs they could be proved contributory to the purpoſes of national defence, for which alone the citizens of this ſtate have agreed to arm.—It is no juſtification of this right to alledge that the act of Charles II. which declares the militia under the command of the crown, ſubmitted generally the mode of training it.—For it would be replied that it could only ſubmit the training it as a militia and not as an army.—To urge ſtill further a ſovereign and ſole power of judging what is right, would be yet more unſatisfactory. To an unbounded uncontroulable prerogative, the

the wiſdom of this nation has never annexed exiſtence, and no general in ſupport of this unlimitted command will venture as yet to ſend a militia regiment chained on board the gallies, by way of experiment to prove rowing a part of their exerciſe.—The ſupreme command reſides ultimately here, as in every other inſtance is the common ſenſe of the nation, the ſovereign is but the mouth-piece to declare their will, and if he perverts the employ of the militia by directing it to any other purpoſes than thoſe of national defence, he arrogates an authority never delegated, and rebels againſt that ſacred ſource of all power, *the majeſty of the people.*

When an old officer is ſeen putting a militia corps through all the exhibition of a parade field day, revolted reaſon enquires how many of thoſe pretty ceremonies are applicable to his country's ſervice, and candour itſelf but reſtrains the laugh through reſpect for the unpliancy of high military notions, early imbibed, and conſecrated by cotemporary folly.—The greateſt ſkill in the ſmalleſt matters is, the

 characteriſtic

characteriſtic of modern tactics. A certain *ton* and *bel uſuage* have erected a ſyſtem of which the art of reaſoning conſtitutes no part. What in the name of wonder can it ſignify whether ſuch a militia regiment ſtep off with one leg, or with the other? reſt the firelock or order it? turn to the right or left about? It were better perhaps for this country, to have them do it the way called wrong than right, provided it be equally expeditious; for the time taken up in learning theſe matters, whether one hour or one month, might be much more uſefully employed.—Inſtead of inſulting the rational faculties of country gentlemen with all the puppyiſms of parade, can no exerciſe be formed on ideas of utility, and might not a little ſhow be ſacrificed in Times like theſe, to objects of intrinſic importance. If the purpoſe of the muſket be to fire with preciſion and rapidity, might not theſe be practiſed at a target, with ſome propriety. To be well acquainted with the *forte* and *foible* of their own coaſts; to judge the natural ſtrength of poſts, and the artificial modes of augmenting it, are at leaſt as eſſential, as to have hats exactly the ſame

cock,

cock, and queus exactly the same length. But these notions are a sort of heresy in tactics, where serious debates have arisen, whether a soldier's legs ought to be all white, or all black, or half of both, although neither signified three straws, or answered any end, except that of exciting disgust in every man of common understanding. Such however, are at present, important subjects; and a war of buttons, is carried on with more pertinacity, than any other object of the campaign.

There is a maxim, which might safely be extended to armies in general, but is an incontrovertible *axiom* when applied to militia, this is, *That all duty should be carried on with the least possible inconvenience, consistent with real utility.* The mind employed in objects worthy its attention, will ever give it; but long trifled with, it retaliates, and trifles in its turn. So few useful points are to be obtained in a series of modern field days, that the minute portion of ore is hardly worth refining from its quantity of dross, nor do many possess the microscopic eye required, to seek it there. When an independent

country gentleman, relinquiſhing his fortune and his eaſe, ſteps forth to inſpire his tenants with patriotic animation, with what ſenſations can one endure a pert adjutant from the army, whiſpering an ignoramus colonel, (who conceives diſcipline depends upon it) that Captain Such-an-one wears a ſcratch wig, when he ought to appear in a bob. In the name of wonder, cannot a plain honeſt *Engliſhman*, diſplay the ſterling energy of his character, without having it debaſed by foppery, and ſophiſticated by conceit? May not a glorious ardor impell a man to ſerve his country, although he poſſeſs no talents for the *ton*. The modiſh refinements of polite life, may not have reached the happier villages which flouriſhed under his paternal magiſtracy; or perchance, the unconquerable ſpirit of *Creſſy* and *Agincourt*, has renderd the ſtern ſoul of ſome modern *Caractacus*, impervious to their penetration. *Hampden*, and *Sidney*, were plain men, whoſe appearance, would now be as unfaſhionable as their tenets; and even *Cromwell*, no bad ſoldier in his day, would make a ſorry figure at the *Horſe Guards*. For heaven's ſake, let the prevalence of folly

model

model as it will that ſtanding army, which ſtate neceſſity and continental madneſs, impoſes on our freedom; and if a ſoldier cannot exiſt otherwiſe, at leaſt let us be militia-men without being coxcombs.—Whenever it ſhall be demonſtrated that a man in a red waiſtcoat is *thereby* incapable of being equally brave with his neighbour in a white one; it will become a national concern, and the militia muſt be worried into conformity; but until that ſhall be clearly aſcertained the ſting of ridicule muſt await a bigotry ſo idolatrous. Happy for this nation were it only laughable, but if by hunting men of ſenſe and conſequence from the ſervice it become pernicious, the joke exiſts no longer.—A declining empire cannot afford to ſacrifice ſtable and conſtitutional ſecurity to idle foppery and the unreal advantage of military vagaries. To conſtruct redoubts, to throw up lines, to form abbatis, and defend poſts already formed, are the true employments of ſuch troops. Even fougaſſes, trous de loups, and all the variety of device which ingenious man has invented for his own deſtruction, become (to uſe a courtly phraſe,) "*The arms which*

"*God*

"*God and Nature have furniſhed,*" and perhaps not worſe applied to the defence of our laws, our liberties and our religion, than in the attempt to deprive our children of theſe bleſſings.

Field days ſhould no longer conſiſt of a formal bill of fare, divided like the acts of a play into a regular ſtring of manæuvres.—Inſtead of theſe ſhould be ſubſtituted frequent marches, and the repreſentation of actual war over a line of country; rehearſing as much as could be foreſeen on the very ſpots moſt liable to be the ſcenes of defence.—Flying camps ſhould often viſit the principal landing places, form on the neighbouring heights, take poſts and ſecure them; in their retreat to others, explore the ſhorteſt communication of bye roads, try every ford, aſcertain the poſſibility of inundations, ſound every moraſs, and know the extent of every plain. Theſe are occupations that add ſtrength, inſpire confidence, and carry conviction.—To break up roads effectually, and with expedition; to ſcour the country in detached parties with ſuch geographic knowledge

as

as always to fall back in the ſhorteſt line to a ſupporting body, are things not to be omitted; for although the troops of this country would be under no neceſſity of ſeeking forage for themſelves; yet the effectually cutting off all means of procuring it from the enemy is a moſt material concern, and would now be feebly executed.—All militia ought to be light infantry, not by the faſhionable mode of cutting off their ſkirts, but by the rapidity of their movements, and the burthenſome irregularity of their attacks.—Their exerciſes ſhould rarely lead them to march the grand road: that cannot be miſtaken, the enemy himſelf will follow it without erring; but to know the diſtance, the bearings, the ſtrength of bye-ways, with the moſt expeditious track to regain their own camp through a thouſand intricacies, are advantages he cannot poſſeſs, and we ſhould not be without. Many a detachment had been ſecure in gaining a poſt within an hundred yards, when they were loſt for want of knowing it. How many enterpriſes have failed from troops miſſing their way? How many ſurpriſes might have been effected,

that

that were never thought of through the ſame defect? Our militia captains are all fox-hunters, and well impreſſed with the convenience of knowing a country. Never did a general reviſit in peaceful hours the ſcenes of his former campaign without being ſtruck with the diſcovery of advantages miſſed on both ſides.—I have twice ſeen regiments in *England* loſe their way in ſituations, that had been fatal, if an enemy had exiſted; and if this can happen without either the confuſion of action or terrors of defeat, how ſtudiouſly ſhould it be guarded againſt, when theſe have a poſſibility of uniting?

At preſent the firſt drilling of a militia-man conſiſts in marching ſlow time; a buſineſs he need never be confined to above a week, for ſtately as it is, adding dignity to motion, it conſtitutes no part of defenſive operation.—I remember formerly to have acquieſced in the long continuance of this practice, from a conviction of the neceſſity of ſome meaſured pace, that ſhould reduce the different movements of individuals to uniform certainty; and by uniting

ting the whole body teach it to acquire one momentum.—This ſeemed likely to be compaſſed with greater eaſe and preciſion, by commencing with paces more ſlow and ſtrongly marked; however the experience of an whole regiment marching in battalion with the utmoſt exactneſs, without ever practiſing the ſlow ſtep ten days, has convinced me it is not neceſſary.—If it be allowable as matter of rudiment, it ſhould never be hunted down for the purpoſes of parade. It certainly does ſet the ſoldier upright, and ſhew him in the handſomeſt ſtile, and wherever theſe are eſſential points, it ought to be the firſt object of dicipline, but if one atom of convenience is to be ſacrificed, no advantages preſent themſelves to authoriſe it, ſo long as the militia are not conſidered as holliday puppets for the mob to gaze at.—On the contrary, the curved attitude, neceſſary for many trades and moſt operations of huſbandry, ſo habituate the dorſal muſcles to inflection, that at a certain time of life it becomes as painful for theſe people to maintain an erect poſition, as it would be for a gentleman to remain long ſtooping; and that this is no tri-

fling inconvenience every one has experienced in a variety of exerciſes.—For what purpoſe then is the frame of man to be diſtorted? Will he be more active, or better enabled to endure fatigue, in a diſtreſsful than in a natural poſition?—To ſuppoſe that an attitude is eaſy, becauſe it pleaſes the eye of taſte, is irrational. —The flowing elegance of the *Antinous* imitated for ten minutes would be more inconvenient than the pillory. Few trivial points are more graceful than turning out the toes, yet the lectures of a public academy have very ably demonſtrated this to be an unnatural diſtortion, which if not early adopted muſt be more than unpleaſant to acquire.—Hence if caprice and faſhion are to new model our frames at any age, the iron bed of *Procruſtes* may be again introduced. Or if ſome future *Alexander* ſhould have one ſhoulder higher than the other, the modiſh conformity of his courtiers, for aught we can foreſee may deform the whole army; but even then I ſhould vote for leaving the militia as their Creator formed them; it is not every general that is competent to mend his works.

Sup-

Suppoſing the militia thus trained, to march with order and rapidity in the poſture they can moſt eaſily ſupport, every unmeaning exhibition of the manual diſcarded; the platoon-exerciſe becomes an object of attention, conſtantly to be practiſed, with all the celerity that exactitude can furniſh. In this, however, the ſpringing the ramrod ſhould be avoided; it is a motion of ſignal effect on the ear as well as on the eye, but not adequate to its purpoſe. Whoever going to fire at a mark, much more to hazard his life upon a ſhot, would load in ſo precarious, ſo ſlovenly a ſtile. Neither ſhould the motions of loading demand that exact preciſion of time, neceſſary in marching or manœuvres: the ſize, the age, or the agility of a man, muſt create ſome variance; one half can never ram down their charge at all, if all are expected to do it in equal time; and to keep a part waiting for the reſt, is reducing the whole to the level of the awkardeſt, at the very moment activity is the moſt deſireable. Hence the irregular or independent fire acquires one of its advantages, its continuity and the uncertainty it impreſſes on an enemy's advance,

are additional ones; but perhaps the firing by platoons, or any larger diviſions, would be entirely exploded, by conſidering what further ſacrifice muſt await its regular performance. Admitting that human nature, in every ſituation, is capable of only a certain degree of attention, which we may expreſs numerically, by calling it equal to ſix; then if one, two, or three of theſe degrees are employed in obſerving to fire together, there remains ſo many leſs to be exerted in levelling properly at the object; whereas in the independent firings, this alone occupies the mind. At preſent, it is greatly too much to ſuppoſe the attention equally divided; at leaſt five ſixths of it go to the word of command, while the obtaining a proper ſight becomes a very inferior conſideration. The militia therefore, not having to learn the knack of firing together, which a ſet of *Automatons* would do infinitely better by a ſingle ſpring, have no occaſion for waſting powder in the acquiſition of ridiculous applauſe. Cartridges of this ſort, ſhould be reſerved for birthday ſquibs: they ſhould receive none without a ball, and with ſuch they cannot practiſe too often

often, ſo long as the deſtruction of an enemy is neceſſary to conqueſt, and their country's preſervation.—But on the other hand, if the powers expected to invade, are, like the *Indians*, on the firſt inroads of *Chriſtian* bucaneers, to be diſmayed by the very ſound of fire-arms, let us in pity to humanity, obtain bloodleſs victories, and leave the platoon firing in the full diſplay of ſonorous inſignificance.

Whatever is here ſpoken of militia, extends no general reference to regular troops; whoſe eſtabliſhment, whoſe contract, whoſe purpoſes are different; but there are ſome inſtances, which common ſenſe may poſſibly apply.

A proper cloathing is neceſſary to cleanlineſs, and all its ſalutary conſequences; it ſhould be that which is moſt convenient for exerciſe, and moſt conducive to health. A light jacket is generally beſt adapted to the former, a large cloak will be frequently deſirable for the latter.

A fierce-

A fierce-cocked hat, looks valiant, but poſſibly has not in itſelf the faculty of creating courage. If not, a round one is a better defence againſt the ſun and rain; a ſort of foraging cap with flaps, would anſwer both purpoſes, and be convenient to lie down in beſides.—Good ſhoes, and worſted ſtockings, or thread with worſted feet, are requiſite for frequent marches, and by keeping up the temperature of the extremeties, obviate many diſeaſes. The free uſe of the muſcles of the leg, and joints of the knee and ancle, is too eſſential to be facrificed to gaiters and tops, which in a greater or ſmaller degree, impede their motion. Some defence againſt cold and dirt, ſhould be procured in Winter, and againſt gravel and briars, at all ſeaſons. A kind of boot, or rather upper ſtocking, of woollen cloth, ſoft tanned leather, or canvas made tolerably looſe, ſhould be adapted to the ſeaſon. Theſe could be no obſtacle in walking, and would ſpare the eternal trouble of buttoning and cleaning the preſent cumberſome equipment.

A con-

A conſtant attention to cleanlineſs ſhould ſuperſede all conſiderations of parade, and with this view the hair might be cropped like a ſchool-boys, for the moſt diſtant proſpect of utility is not to be neglected for mere ornament, eſpecially in a body with whom we have no right to play tricks for entertainment; who are devoted to purpoſes too ſacred to be burleſqued with the impertinence of foppery. The plain rough-hewn *Engliſh* peaſant ought after three year's ſervice to be returned unſophiſticated to the plough tail, whereas now a militia education ruins every huſbandman it gets hold of. If this is not fatal to the agriculture of this country it is becauſe the enrollments of this claſs have not been very numerous, and, that they have not been ſo, is the fortunate reſult of another evil, the too common admiſſion of ſubſtitutes. If a ſmall proportion of huſbandmen are drawn away, it is becauſe only a ſmall proportion of the nation are trained to arms. Thoſe firſt ballotted inſtead of ſuperadding the buſineſs of a militia-man to their own profeſſions, relinquiſh theſe and become downright ſoldiers. At the cloſe of the war,

ſo

ſo few of them return to labour, that it is fortunate if we retain foreign garriſons enough to eaſe the taſk of juſtice; for if marching regiments cannot provide for them; idleneſs will. This however is a ſorry exchange for the community. Inſtead of having at the end of ſeven years, near ninety thouſand induſtrious citizens inſtructed in national defence, the utmoſt we can now hope is to have thirty thouſand men torn from us and trained to arms, at the immenſe ſacrifice of every other occupation. Theſe are times in which national wealth can hardly afford this, or national ſecurity authorize it. The morals of the militia (once reſtored to a conſtitutional footing) are a more important object than any yet conſidered; this is a ſacred charge entruſted to the good faith of the officers, their neighbours have indivi dually claims upon the benevolence of thoſe who are to lead their children forth in a new line, and public juſtice eſtabliſhes this attention as a debt, not only to the county, but to the kingdom at large. When a regiment is to be diſbanded, it is by no means indifferent whether a well-regulated body is to be reſtored

to

to ſociety, or a gang of banditti turned looſe upon the neighbourhood.

To march the coaſt militia out of their reſpective counties is to weaken the powers of national defence; and this ſo materially in every military point of view, that it is hardly poſſible for the moſt prudential arrangements in other reſpects to counterbalance the inconveniencies of the preſent abſurd and illegal ſyſtem. Knowledge of the country is amongſt the firſt and principal advantages which troops at home poſſeſs over an enemy. To ſhift every militia from its own coaſt, and bring ſtrangers as little acquainted with it as with the coaſts of *Otaheite*, is an ingenious contrivance for deſtroying this ſuperiority, and reducing us to act upon terms equally unfavourable. 'Tis true we ſhall not want guides; nor probably will they: but the officer who can ſteer for himſelf ſtands on a very different footing. Suppoſing it otherwiſe, the moſt deſireable caſe is, that ſome perſon converſant in military matters could be found to conduct his party, and then the odds are very conſiderable that he never attains the exact

poſition ſuited to the intention of the officer who is to act in it. Thus like the ancient drama, wherein one of the perſonages enacted, what was recited by the other, the whole can never be of a piece; nor is it poſſible for the communication of ideas to be as perfect and diſtinct as their conception.

If an intimate acquaintance with the ground be advantageous, the ſtate of its ſupplies in horſes, forage, ſtores, carriages, artificers, &c. is no leſs ſo; this is only to be found at home, and thoſe even of the next county muſt be deficient. The ſuperior countenance and aſſiſtance furniſhed by their own militia to all provincial aſſociations muſt not be forgotten; but above all the ſacred ardor which a man feels for his own houſehold gods. In one ſtep further the enemy deſtroys the venerable cottage of his grandſire. His family already ſhudder at the proſpect of roaming the unſheltered waſte. Good heavens! if this ſituation could happen but once, and were confined to the feelings of a ſingle individual, it promiſes more for *Britain's* ſafety, than every thing that can be urged for moving

moving them. Indeed I never heard one argument for this, that was not abſurd and diſgraceful. For if any colonel be incompetent to training the militia properly at home, he is certainly unfit to be entruſted with it elſewhere.

The ſtation of the inland regiments ought therefore to be the neareſt coaſts where it is thought proper to place ſuch a body.—Above all things it ſhould never be forgotten that the quarters of every militia man ought to be the neareſt to his own abode conſiſtent with public ſafety.—It muſt be conſidered how ſoon he may return to the duties of private life, and how neceſſary it is for him to keep up the citizen in the ſoldier, which was indiſputably the conſtitutional object of our anceſtors. That a man ſhould be within reach of his own little concerns, is by no means indifferent to his country, which he may enrich as well as defend. His farm, his hop-garden, a few looms at home may all derive advantage from his ſuperintendance.——Let us again conſider, that the dangers to which this kingdom might be expoſed from foreign enemies, when the

influx of commerce had deſtroyed the univerſal array of leſs wealthy periods, firſt induced the inhabitants to agree by their repreſentatives that a certain number of themſelves ſhould be trained for its defence.——To chuſe thoſe perſons by lot for a ſtated time was a fair and a reaſonable plan, but they were of courſe to be ſubject to the leaſt poſſible inconvenience conſiſtent with public ſecurity.—— When an individual is thus compelled to a profeſſion, he has undoubted claims upon all its fair conditions; and it is a very fair one, that he ſhould not be harraſſed by any employment, ſervice, or removal, not eſſentially conducive to the public ſafety. It goes far beyond expedience and propriety; *it is the undoubted right of every maritime militia to remain in its own county, unleſs the public danger be thereby augmented*, which can rarely happen, except on ſuch coaſts as appear otherwiſe defended, or very remote from all probability of invaſion; or in caſe of actual intelligence of an enemy's deſigns elſewhere. On the ſame principle, the militia of every inland county, has a juſt claim to be ſtationed at the neareſt poſt. Thus beſides

ſides the great national benefit as a firſt object; many will have the advantage of their own homes, moſt of their families, friends and fortunes, together with a thouſand comforts, which they never meant to relinquiſh; and which it is an unjuſt, impolitic, and indecent violation of the contract, for government to deprive them of.

Nothing but a total ignorance of the wiſe principles of our laws, or an arbitrary perverſion of them, could have introduced the preſent unreaſonable practice: our ſtatutes from the very firſt notice taken of the militia, are expreſs in ſupport of this doctrine: and ſubſequent acts have continued the ſame equitable regulations, till very late periods.—The words of the act of parliament, 1ſt *Ed.* III. Ch. 5. are,

" That no man be compelled to go out of " his ſhire, but where neceſſity requireth, and " and ſuddain coming of ſtrange enemies into " the realm, and then it ſhall be done as hath " been uſed in times paſt, for the defence of

" the

" the realm." This is confirmed by 4th of *Hen.* IV.

Charles the Second, in aſſerting his right of command over the militia, only claimed to move them in caſes of inſurrection, rebellion, or invaſion, as will appear by the following extract, 13 & 14 *Ch.* II. chap. 3.

" Which lieutenants ſhall have full power " and authority, to call together all ſuch perſons " at ſuch times, and to arm and array them " in ſuch manner as is hereafter expreſſed and " declared, and to form them into companies, " troops, and regiments: And *in caſe of in-* " *ſurrection, rebellion, or invaſion,* them to lead, " conduct, and employ, or cauſe to be led, " conducted, and employed, as well within the " ſaid ſeveral counties, cities, and places afore- " ſaid, for which they ſhall be commiſſioned " reſpectively; as alſo into any other the " counties and places aforeſaid, for ſuppreſſing " of all ſuch inſurrections and rebellions, and " repelling invaſions, as may happen to be, " according as they ſhall from time to time, re-

" ceive

" ceive directions from his Majeſty, his heirs, " and ſucceſſors."

The wiſe of every age, have agreed in owning how dangerous it is, to truſt even the moſt moderate man with power, and that the tempting command of it, which the extent of military diſcipline affords; has been long too fatally alluring *. Thoſe very perſons whoſe influence and abilities ſhould protect the rights of the militia, have acquieſced in ſacrificing them frequently to their own authority. A young nobleman, called by the moſt generous impulſe to the head of a corps, overlooks in the animated purity of his intentions, what other objects may be devoted to making a fine regiment. His own credit ſeems ſtaked; his emulation is rouſed, a little vanity ſpurs him on, and the body entruſted to his charge, for purpoſes that ought to have been accompliſhed in the eaſieſt manner, is harraſſed through all the manœuvres

* C'eſt une experience eternelle que tout homme qui a du pouvoir eſt porté à en abuſer; Il va juſqu 'a ce qu'il trouve des limittes.—Qui le diroit! la vertu meme a beſoin des limittes. *Eſprit des Loix.*

of

of modern tactics. One half of theſe are abſurdities when ſaddled upon the regulars. Nine-tenths are unconſtitutionally extended to the militia; even if this proceeding did no harm, its groſs injuſtice muſt prevent its being treated merely as ridiculous; but when it is big with ſuch fatal miſchiefs, it becomes criminal, and ſhould be ſeverely puniſhed. The moſt atrocious of all treaſons, is treaſon againſt the majeſty of the people, and ſuch is this. The ſafety of this kingdom, can never depend upon the fooleries of the firelock, or the *puppyiſms* of parade; but her danger muſt be augmented by their injudicious introduction. Whoever would put a militia on the footing of a marching regiment, muſt ſacrifice a greater object, a more ſtable, a more conſtitutional ſecurity; and by direct conſequence, whoever is deſirous of promoting that equality, has views incompatible with the wellfare of his country. It might appear a ſtrong aſſertion, to ſay at once, that the militia ought not to be ſoldiers; yet ſurely the idea of armed citizens, is more ſacred and not leſs invincible; more endeared to the feelings of a *Briton*, and infinitely more har-

harmonized to the principles of the conſtitution. The doctrine of Judge *Blackſtone*, has already been taken notice of, and the opinions of this great man, when unperverted by courtly politics, were drawn from the richeſt ſources of our invaluable code, and digeſted by the moſt profound reflection. It is the want of that liberal and eaſy ſyſtem he mentions, that at this moment reduces the militia infinitely below what it might be. Men of weight and conſequence, not immediately in command, ſoon ſicken of a ſervice replete with troubleſome, trifling, and unneceſſary fatigue; hence the officers dwindle ſo faſt, that if it be better not to enact laws, than to lead people into diſobeying them, the qualification clauſes will want repealing before next ſeſſions. The mere life of a foot-ſoldier, is naturally enough a bugbear that deters the ſons of farmers and decent tradeſmen, from perſonal ſervice; and on the preſent footing, it would be unreaſonable to compell it. But, there are modes of reſtoring it to credit; of training in the courſe of a few years, a much larger proportion of the nation, and theſe principally of the moſt reſpectable

claſſes, whoſe property and character would ennoble the eſtabliſhment with ſentiment, rivaling what the boaſted houſhold troops of *France* could ever poſſeſs.

One of the firſt ſteps to this deſireable reform, is to ſend all the militia in winter not only to their own counties, which (except in caſes of actual invaſion elſewhere) it is madneſs ever to remove them from; but to their own homes. The private concerns of every individual are objects worthy the attention of the ſtate. Much of its wealth depends upon them; and this alone according to the preſent financial ſyſtem of war becomes a part of military arrangement.—His children too, the ſeeds of future armies are not to be neglected, for if the population of this kingdom decreaſe as rapidly as a late eminent writer * conceives, every proſpect of repairing the havock is a matter of national importance. The perſonal labours of thirty thouſand men during five months annually are not to be overlooked in times of poverty, any more than

* Dr. Price.

the

the additional exertions their preſence might occaſion in the induſtry of their families. In the pay and cloathing ſomething might be ſaved, and if the convenience of the public be thrown into the ſcale all theſe together will have weight.—The adjutant and ſerjeants being in fact regulars employed to train the militia, might remain to take charge of recruits; for in order that the whole ſhould on emergencies have a competent knowledge of their buſineſs, it would be neceſſary to make a reſervation of ſuch as joined late in the Autumn; but which might be a good deal obviated in future, if all ballots except caſual ones took place in the Spring. The moral good effects of this meaſure might be traced beyond the re-uniting thoſe bonds of ſociety, which ſhould never be diſſolved, and which as well as the principles of qualification, the immortal *Monteſquieu* extends to armies in general*.

* " Pour que celui qui exècute ne puiſſe pas opprimer, " il faut que les armès qu'on lui confie ſoient peuple, " et ayent le même eſprit que le peuple. * * * et que " ceux que l'on employe dans l'armée, ayent aſſez de " bien pour repondre de leur conduite aux autres ci- " toyens, * * *—que les ſoldats habitent avec les citoyens, " et qu'il n'y ait ni camp ſeparé, ni caſernes, ni place " de guerre."

No military objection can be raiſed upon any reaſonable grounds to ſending men home periodically, and the practice of the *King of Pruſſia* with the higheſt dreſt troops in the univerſe muſt ſilence the cavils of the ignorant.—At any rate, furloughs ought in moſt occaſions to be granted on the eaſieſt terms; always to buſineſs, or emolument; frequently to inclination, and even to caprice. To invite proper perſons into the ſervice, the going out ſhould be perfectly eaſy; a diſcharge ſhould never be a matter of difficulty, hardly even of favour; for under certain regulations, it ſhould be a matter of right.—No one who can derive eſſential advantage from quitting, ſhould be detained on finding a ſubſtitute. If a young man was ſure of getting off, when he could engage a farm or ſhop, he would readily ſerve 'till ſuch opportunities offered; and numbers would be ready to ſupply his place on ſimilar conditions. Theſe changes would not be very frequent, but the more ſo the better, for a greater number of inhabitants would thereby be trained to the buſineſs of defence.

The appointment of a ſecond captain to each company would anſwer ſome purpoſes of accommodation, and enable country gentlemen of greater conſequence to quit their homes when the period was ſhort and ſtated. One only of theſe to be in pay at a time, and to relieve each other every three months. A militia on this footing would ſubject the officers to few inconveniencies, thoſe of the firſt property would be tempted to ſtand forth; and even if the qualifications were doubled, enough would then be found.——Subalterns would probably be procured with equal facility, if the duty were really liberal and eaſy; ſuppoſing the ſame indulgence propoſed for the men of occaſional leave of abſence to be ſtill more frequently extended here. The pay would be no object to the deſcription of gentlemen who would crowd in, nor would the duty of either commiſſion be inſupportably troubleſome. On the preſent footing, a ſcarcity of ſubalterns may in time produce improper appointments, unleſs it be obviated.—Something like this might be done by reducing the captain's pay to eight ſhillings *per diem*, augmenting the lieutenants with

with this ſaving to ſix ſhillings and eight pence, and giving army rank to the enſigns after two years ſervice; this would induce young men of family ſometimes to ſerve firſt here, under the eye of their friends and in the way of promotion. The engaging ſuch is a deſireable and conſtitutional object, nor could it materially affect the regulars, which extending rank to lieutenants might do.

Since the value of money has ſo much leſſened its proportion to the neceſſaries of life, the pay of ſoldiers is become a pittiance, that requires ſome exertions of judgment, to regulate its oœconomical expenditure; and for the honour of humanity, there are many officers who have beſtowed the moſt meritorious attention on it. That a ſoldier ſhould be well fed, well cloathed, and well lodged, are three points, which in length of ſervice muſt ſuperſede every other. Thoſe who are called out for a temporary exertion, may poſſibly ſhift for themſelves; but in all permanent eſtabliſhments, the army in which theſe matters are beſt regulated, will have ſuch advantages over

that

that in which they are neglected, as nothing can outbalance. Good order, health, and ſobriety, the very ſoul of diſcipline, depend upon them. The ſuperintendence of markets, and eſtabliſhment of meſſes are no ignoble attentions. By the firſt, a wholeſome and proper diet is ſelected at an attainable price; by the laſt, fuel and utenſils are ſaved: and, the very water that boils the meat, converted into a nutritious aliment. A ſoldier may fight ſome day, he muſt eat every day; and a parade of puddings, affords more ſolid advantages, than twenty oſtentatious roll-callings, with half as much flower waſted on the hair.

The ſame ſedulous regard ſhould extend itſelf every where to the lodging of troops, frequently liable to be much crouded together.—The windows of their apartments ſhould be conſtantly open in the day-time.—Air, if the firſt of vital requiſites is ſurely not the laſt of medical ones; and indeed the greateſt improvements of modern practice have their origin in attention to its effects; hence the ſuperior aſcendancy acquired over inflammatory com-

plaints

plaints, hence too the ſmall pox which ſo lately deſolated Europe like a ſecond plague, has loſt its horrors; while youth and beauty triumph in its defeat.—In ſultry weather, a free circulation is abſolutely neceſſary to exiſtence; putrid fevers of the moſt dangerous kind are the immediate conſequences of ſtagnated air. In dry cold weather, however the hazards of neglecting this may be leſſened, it ſtill preſents advantages to the conſtitution. While the atmoſphere acts as a perpetual cold bath, it reſtores the elaſtic tone of the fibres, and repairs that debility, which unwearied relaxation would ſoon produce. When the rooms in which ſoldiers lodge are tolerably ſpacious, I am no advocate for this communication with the external atmoſphere in very damp weather; which in this climate produces more chronic diſorders, than every other cauſe united; this, however is ſubject to ſome regulation of ſeaſons and ſpace; for generally freſh air with all the conſequences of dampneſs is leſs dangerous than a foul contaminated medium.—By means of proper covering, principally woollen, the pores may in many inſtances be protected from exceſs

ceſs of moiſture, while the lungs are better ſupplied for the purpoſes of reſpiration.—Cleanlineſs is amongſt the principal articles of quartering ſoldiers, and ſhould be moſt ſedulouſly attended to by the ſerjeants and corporals, on whom it principally depends; for officers cannot be conſtantly in quarters. By frequent airing and changing of bedding, ſweeping or waſhing rooms, moſt cutaneous and many contagious diſeaſes may be prevented.

To keep men wilfully out in bad weather, who have few changes or conveniencies for reſtoring ſalutary warmth, is equally impolitic and inhuman. It requires no practice to endure ſnow or rain when exigencies render it neceſſary; but on the contrary frequent expoſures hazard the ſtrongeſt conſtitution in ſpight of every effort of the will. *Julius Cæſar* himſelf would be no more proof againſt a Rheumatiſm, than a common drummer; and illneſs would as effectually diſable the one as the other.——The appellation of fair-weather ſoldiers may be prodigiouſly facetious; but until it ſhall be ſettled that valour conſiſts in braving a hail ſtorm,

every good officer will avoid trifling with the health of individuals, eſpecially when it is immaterial to the ſervice, whether the field-day commence this inſtant, or to-morrow. For this reaſon alſo, the Summer buſineſs ſhould be carried on in the cooleſt hours, and moſt airy or ſhaded ſituation. The exerciſes of this ſeaſon, ſhould be the leaſt violent; practiſing to load with expertneſs, firing at marks, and ſuch like. Thoſe of the Spring and Autumn, on the contrary, ſhould never conſiſt of few movements, or be on bleak expoſures; rapid marches, and the operations of field engineering, ſhould at this time conſtitute the principal employments. Not that poſitive reſtrictions are neceſſary to any ſeaſon, but ſome general outline ſhould ever be preſerved.

If any details attendant on the militia were to be entered into, we ſhould be ſtruck at firſt ſight, with the ſhameful neglect of articles, whoſe influence on natural defence, is of the firſt conſequence; and it would be impoſſible not to remark, that much of the powder ſupplied by the ordnance is too weak to range its ball

ball to a proper diſtance with effect; and this from a variety of miſmanagement in that myſterious and inexplicable board. Their flints alſo, are ſo ſcandalouſly bad, as to be almoſt univerſally unfit for uſe; ſuch as no man would think of riſking his diverſion upon after game, are yet to be entruſted with the lives, liberties, properties, perhaps the very exiſtence of this kingdom; and this merely to anſwer the purpoſe of ſome vile job, ſince the expence of procuring the very beſt is of the moſt trifling nature. If the fire of 20,000 men well appointed, be ſuperior to that of 30,000 with the preſent unſerviceable flints, (and it is at leaſt in that proportion) it muſt follow, that the nation which can afford to throw away one third of its defence, has too large an army; or, that if the whole, may by any poſſibility be wanted, ſome reform is neceſſary in the article that waſtes it.

Having obſerved as the moſt eſſential of all points, that the militia ought invariably to be ſent to their own homes in Winter, and to remain in their own counties at all times; it ſhould be added, that flying camps enabling them to

viſit the landing-places therein, and rendering them ſtill more perfectly maſters of its defence, ſhould be their Summer deſtination; conſidering always how ſoon they are to return to their ſtations in private life; which that they may not be ſeduced from, or loſe ſight of, all opportunities of working at their reſpective trades ſhould be caught at, and the implements of them carried at the public expence, when not too unwieldy. Every ſtimulus to induſtry ſhould be conſtantly applied, and premiums given to reward it. This is by no means incompatible with their martial eſtabliſhment, if national wealth be a part of natural ſtrength, which will hardly be denied. But military ideas are too apt to abſorb every other conſideration if its tendency to the ſame object be at all remote, however ultimately deciſive in effect. The philoſopher reads with admiration of only one army, whoſe foreſight during a tedious ſiege, detached a part of its force for the rational purpoſe of begetting children for the ſtate at home; and however ludicrouſly the ſubject may now be handled, it was no contemptable ſtroke in the politics of war.

Upon

Upon the ſame principles, an attention to the landed intereſts of the nation demands that the militia encampments break up the beginning of harveſt, unleſs in times of immediate danger. Their ſervices then will be beneficial, and bad policy alone can make an eſtabliſhment burthenſome, which offers ſuperior advantages by being uſeful in every ſituation.—Nothing can extenuate the phyſical error of keeping them out ſo late, as was done in 1778 and 1779, it is obvious how weighty and numerous the arguments are againſt it, and the convenience of publicans the only one in its favour: for the probability of an enemy's chuſing that time of the year for invaſion has very little rational foundation,—To argue however the impoſſibility of this, would be equally abſurd, the added difficulties of the ſeaſon are not inſurmountable, and the French miniſters may chuſe to incur them; there is no reaſoning upon the future deliberations of a cabinet, when our own has ſo ſtedfaſtly borne witneſs to the truth of *De Wit*'s obſervation, "*that no wiſe man can foreſee the extent of folly.*"—However, it may be aſſerted that no well-planned expedition

tion could take place very late with a proſpect of ſucceſs. Our climate itſelf would defeat it during the winter months, when joined to the fatigues and hardſhips ſtrangers muſt endure. The lands would afford no forage, the country no ſuſtenance; thus Nature herſelf is our ally.—But even allowing ſome latitude to the injudicious timidity of government, if troops muſt be kept together, the moſt inconvenient cantonments are preferable to tents in *November*; barns, ſtables, out-buildings, are always to be procured, and in the preſent ſtate of commerce all the warehouſes on our coaſts are not employed.

No taſk is more replete with Herculean difficulties, than that of combatting prejudices early imbibed, and there is ſcarce a rank more overwhelmed with theſe, than the gentlemen of the army.—Entering young into a profeſſion, to which they ſacrifice that very freedom, which in maturer years nothing could tempt a *Briton* to relinquiſh; fortunately for their country, they imbibe new opinions with new laws, and ſeeing with juſtice that their profeſſion is the moſt

moſt honourable, eaſily conceive it the moſt perfect.—Hence the deſpotic edict of command bears a ſtamp of higher authority, than the ſacred mandates of the decalogue.—Subordination and eternal conſtraint become deities for them, and relaxation the demon that rebels againſt the heaven of diſcipline.—Such is their religion; and in every age, tenets early adhered to, have effectually overpowered every effort of the moſt nervous underſtanding. *Confucius* worſhipped the idol of a *Pagod*, as ſtedfaſtly as the ſages of *Egypt* their monkies or their onions; even the moſt enlightened moderns have been attached by this lethargy of reaſon, and thus it is that officers from the army, endowed with matchleſs abilities and ſuperior talents, bring the bigottry of their earlier creed uncorrected to ſophiſticate the militia.

If therefore the gloomy hemiſphere of fact intrude a mournful proſpect on the eye, at leaſt we may travel the regions of imagination, where fancy's mirror can preſent a clearer ſunſhine. Let us for a moment forget the perverſion of that liberal and eaſy ſyſtem eſta-

bliſhed

bliſhed by our anceſtors, and reſtore, at leaſt in idea, a millitia formed on the broad baſis of conſtitutional right. Un-awed by military prejudice, their diſcipline ſhall be the child of reaſon, not the abortion of ſervility.—They ſhall be the ſoldiers of the people.—Receiving their orders from the crown, they ſhall feel that a monarch's right of command, and their duty of obedience depend on conformity to public weal.—Referring to the origin of all power, it will be found delegated for general good; and an acquieſcence under it on other terms is to abandon thoſe very principles they are ſelected to protect. Their ſovereign can only ſpeak the voice of the people, they can obey no other, ſo long as they continue the guardians of the nation's rights, and not the ſlaves of perverted authority.—The eaſe of their diſcipline, the utility of their employments, the glory of the cauſe would exhilerate every hour of ſervice, and fill the ranks with men of property and ſentiment.—Sentiment which the importance of their charge, the love of thoſe laws, thoſe liberties and that religion, they were entruſted to preſerve would animate to the

the moſt enthuſiaſtic heroiſm. A filial attachment to their native ſoil, will be ſublimed into patriotic ardour, by a grateful recollection of thoſe bleſſings which no other land beſtows. —The peaſant in the humbleſt cottage of a village, owns the felicity of that conſtitution, which leaves him ſecure from oppreſſion in the enjoyment of more undiſturbed tranquility, than the grandee of every deſpotic government. —Happy, thrice happy! if he feel theſe invaluable privileges enough to watch over them with a jealous eye, convinced that whatever allurements may induce the rich to relinquiſh them, he, who ſhares no part in a ſyſtem of plunder and corruption, obtains not the ſhadow of an equivalent, nor can have any thing left worth preſerving, if robbed of theſe. Even if his own intereſts could be lulled, where is the *Briton* who could baſely deſert his children's title to inherit thoſe privileges, purchaſed with the blood of their anceſtors, and confided to his arm to be tranſmitted down with undiminiſhed luſtre. And ſhould a period arrive, which heaven avert! when this glorious fabric becomes endangered, either by the depravity

of domeſtic miniſters, or the invaſion of foreign enemies; there is virtue enough in this kingdom to avenge itſelf moſt amply.—Every inhabitant would fly to arms, and in ſuch a cauſe the weakeſt becomes invincible. There was an energy in the ſouls of thoſe who graſped *Magna Charta* from the hands of a tyrant, that ſtill flows in the veins of their progeny; and even if the ſtroke were levelled too ſuddenly to rouſe the nation at large, the militia glory to exiſt for its protection, and will ſtand forth the great bulwark of their country's freedom.

F I N I S.

APPEN-

APPENDIX.

COTTON. MSS. JULIUS, C. iv.

A. x. *Edw.* III.

Proclamacio quod quilibet armis muniatur.

16 *Febr.* Quia ex nonullorum relationibus regi eſt intimatum, quod quidam homines de Scotia quaſdam allegationes, &c. ut ſupra.. Rex mandavit ſingulis vicecomites per Angliam quod publice proclamari faciant quod omnes homines inter etates lx. & xvi. annorum exiſtentes. Ac omnes alii homines tam milites quam armigeri, ad pugnandam potentes ſub pœna forfituræ vitæ & membrorum, terrarum, tenementorum, bonorum & catallorum. ac omnium quæ regi forſitaſſe poterunt, armis com-

petentibus, juxta formam ſtatuti apud Winton. editam, ſe muniant abſque dilatatione quacunque. Itaque quod ipſi ſic muniti ſint parati ad proficiendum pro defenſione regni, et expugnandum omnes illos qui idem regnum per terram vel per mare aut populum ſuum gravare reſumpſerint, &c. quando ex parte regis premuniti fuerint.

De ſignis faciendis.

Et mandatum eſt ſingulis ſupradictis cuſtodibus portuum et littorum prædictorum ſeperatim, quod aliquod commune ſignum per ignem ſuper montes, vel alio modo, in comitatibus predictis fieri faciant, prout alias in hujuſmodi caſu fieri conſuevit per quod propria de periculis poterit premuniri.

Eodem modo aſſignantur ſeperatim alii homines ad arraiandum omnes homines tam milites, &c. in ſingulis comitatibus Angliæ, et ad eos ducendos ad cuſtodes portuum et littorum eorundem. m. 24. et m. 21.

Po-

Potentes alios ſubſtiterent.

Ordinatio facta per regem et concilium, de hominibus impotentibus terrarum, tenimentar. et catalla, ad valorem ſupradict. habentibus, alios loco ſuo muniendos juxta formam predictam. Et quod omnes alii, tenementa & catalla ad valent. predict. non habentes, viz. tam foreſtarii, ſervientes religioſorum, et alii quicunque certis minutis armaturis muniantur, &c. dorſ. m. 24.

Et conſimilis commiſſiones diriguntur quam plurimis civitatibus et oppidis primariis regni, de hominibus in iiſdem morantibus, arraiandis & armandis juxta formam ſupraſcriptam. In dorſo, m. 24.

Pro hominibus in portubus regni arraiandis.

3 *Octobr.* Licet rex nuper aſſignaverit quoſdam fideles ſuos ad arraiandum omnes homines defenſibiles in comitatu Norff. & alibi infra regnum Angliæ, & ad aſſidendum ad arma juxta formam ſtatuti Winton. &c. pro eo tamen

men quod alieni gentis congregato navigio regnum ſuum invadere nituntur. Ac propter alia nova regi delata. Rex ex abundanti mandavit majore et balivis villæ de Lyne, ſub forifitura omnium que regi forfitaſſe poterunt, quod omnes homines dictæ villæ defenſibiles ſine dilatione arraiari et parari faciant. Ita quod ſint parati, pro defenſione villæ predictæ pro repellendis hoſtibus predictis, ſi illuc venerunt, &c. In dorſo, m. 9.

Eodem modo mandatum eſt majoribus et balivis villarum de, &c.

De hominibus per totum regnum Angliæ arraiandis contra hoſtium invaſiones.

3 *Octobr.* Cum rex nuper aſſignaverit Jo. Segrave, G. &c. in comitatu Kantiæ, ad omnes homines ibidem corporis potentes armari faciendum, viz. 40 et 20 libras terre, vel redditus, habentes, armis competentibus et equitaturis juxta ſtatum ſuum, &c. et omnes alios habentes cxv. li. terre & catalla ad valentiam xl. in earum habitatione. capello, ferreo, gladius,

dius, &c. Ac jam in magno conſilio regis apud Nottingham convocato, audito rumore quod alienigene magnum navigium ſupra mare congregare fecerunt, ſatagentes hoſtiliter invadere regnum ſunm, habitaque in dicto conſilio de liberatione qualiter ſufficiens poſſe infra dictum regnum citius aſſumi poterit & ipſum regnum defenſari: ibidem ordinatum fuit pro potentiori repulſione hoſtium predictorum, ac minori onere & gravemine populi. Quod de qualibet villa ejuſdem regni, eligantur unus, duo, tres vel quatuor, et ultra ſecundum quod ville ilie minores ſint vel majores, de fortioribus et potentioribus hominibus vellarum earundem, qui juxta ſtatus ſui decentiam armis competentibus muniantur.

Eodem modo aſſignantur allii commiſſionarii in aliis comitatibus ad certos numeros, ibidem eligend. arraiand. &c. viz.

Eborum - 4500

In Weſt Riding, 1500, exceptis villis de Pomfret & Doncaſter.

In

In North Riding, 1500, exceptis villis Rippon & Eborum.

In Eaſt Riding, 1500, except. vill. Beverley.

Lanc.	4000	
Lincoln	4000	
		In partibus de Lindeſey, 1334.
		In partibus de Keſteven, 1333, exceptis villis de Stamford & Grantham.
		In partibus de Holland, 1333, excepta villa de Sto. Botholpho.
Nott.	1500	exceptis villis de Notting. & Newarke.
Leic.	2000	excepta villa de Leiceſter.
North.	3000	excepta villa North.
Rutt.	400	
Cantabar.	1500	excepta villa de Cantorberi.
Hunt.	1500	excepta villa de Huntingdon.
Norff.	6000	excepta villa de Norwich.
Suff.	2500	excepta villa de Scto. Edmundo.

Eſſex

Eſſex	- -	3000 excepta villa de Colceſtr.
Hertf.	-	1000 excepta villa de S. Albano.
Bucks.	-	1500 excepta villa de Buck.
Bedd.	- -	1500 excepta villa de Bedford.
Oxon.	-	1500 excepta villa de Oxfon.
Berks.	-	1000 excepta villa de Reding.
Warr.	-	1500 excepta villa de Warr.
Staff.	- -	2000 excepta villa de Stafford.
Salopp.	-	2000 excepta villa de Salop.
Wigorn.	-	1500 excepta villa de Wigorn.
Glouc.	-	2500 exceptis villis de Glouc. & Briſtowe.
Heref.	-	2000 excepta villa de Hereford.
Suſſex.	-	2000 excepta villa de Ciceſter.
Surr.	- -	1000 excepta villa de Guilford.
Southn.	-	1500 exceptis villis de Southt. & Winton.
Somerſet	-	3000
Dorſet	-	1500
Devon.	-	5000 excepta civit. Exon.
Cornub.	-	4000
Midd.	- -	400
Wilts.	- -	2400 excepta civit. Sarum.

Consimile in civitat. & burgis regni.

Cum in magno consilio regis apud Nottingh. convocato, audito rumore quod alienigene magnum navigium, &c. ut supra ordinatum fuerit; quod &c. ut supra. Rex volens concordiam predictam efficacem, forteri mandavit majori & balivis civitatis Cantuar. quod centum homines de civitate et suburbiis eligant & armis muniri faciant, &c. Ita quod arraiata et munita uno standardo, pro eis ordinato prompti sint et parati ad proficiendum, &c. cum victualibus pro tribus septamenis, &c, ut supra.

Et mandatum est omnibus & singulis comitibus, baronibus, militibus, ministris & aliis fidelibus regis ad periculis ponderatis, & considerato quod primogenitores sui reges Angliæ in turbaciones inter ipsos & alios ex terrarum terrarum dominos motis. Domini maris & transmarini passagii totis temporibus retractis extiterunt, et quod plurimum ipsum lederet, si honor suus regius suis temporibus in aliquo lederetur. Quodque ipsi & ceteri homines de

regno

regno ſuo pro defenſione ejuſdem, ſe & ſua contra hoſtium invaſiones exponere tenentur. Prefatis archiepiſcopo, epiſcopo, &c. in predicto tractatu intendentes ſint & obſequentes. Et poteſtas conceſſa eſt prefato archiep. &c. caſtigandum et puniendum rebelles, &c. m. 3.

HARLEAN MS. 168, p. 132.

Letters to the lord lieutenants and commiſſioners for the muſters in the ſeveral counties hereunder named that are to ſend ſupplies to the maritime counties.

1599. Your lordſhips ſhall underſtand that her majeſty hath lately received divers and ſundrie advertiſements, that the king of Spain doth renew his operations by ſea, and doth add to his other forces of ſhipping a number of gallies, and are either already arrived or very ſhortly to arrive at the haven of Breſt in Brittanye, which is an evident argument that he hath a purpoſe to make ſome attempt on ſome part of the coaſt of this realm, and therefore her majeſtie, in her princely wiſdom

and provident care for the defence of this her kingdom and loving ſubjects, doth forſee by timely proviſion to withſtand and prevent his malicious attempts; for which purpoſe we have written our letters to the maritime counties to have their forces of horſe and foot in a readineſs, and we are alſo to put you in mind of theſe ſpecial directions you have received from us by her majeſty's commandment, at ſuch time as the like danger was threatened and expected theſe late years, wherein particular directions were ſet down in what ſort your lordſhip was to govern yourſelf, and to direct the forces of that county of A. upon notice given you from the lieutenants and commiſſioners of muſters for the counties of Devon, Dorſet and Southampton, in ſending 2000 men into either county, that you ſhall be required upon appearance and intended courſe of the enemy diſcovered to land in either of thoſe counties, to whom beſides the foreſaid number of foot, you are to ſend alſo all the horſes that are inrolled in that county, or ſo many as ſhall be required of you with ſuch other neceſſary proviſion. as by our former direction hath been

been preſcribed unto you, whereunto we do refer you and ſpecially require of you for the furtherance of her majeſties ſervice to peruſe diligently our former directions and inſtructions given you in that behalf, that there may no default be found in you in theſe occaſions, concerning the defence of the realm, and withſtanding the attempts of the enemy. So we bid you farewell.

Wilts, to ſend	2000	to	Devon, Dorſet, or Somerſet.
Somerſet ——	4000	—	Devon, Dorſet.
Berks ——	3000	—	Southampton,
Suſſex ——	4000	—	Southampton, Kent.
Surrey, ——	3000	—	Southampton, Kent.
London, ——	3000	—	Kent, Suſſex.
Harteford ——	1000		Eſſex,
	500		Suffolk.

Cam-

Cambridge ——	500 —	Suffolk, Norfolk.
Huntingdon ——	500	Suffolk,
	500	Norfolk.
Lincolnſhire ——	3000	Norfolk.

HARLEIAN MS. 168, p. 137, b.

A letter from the lords of the council to the Earl of Pembroke, requiring him to ſee the horſe and foot to be in readineſs within the Principality of Wales, and alſo to take order that the beacons be duly watched.

1599. Whereas her majeſtie hath of late received divers and ſundrie advertiſements, that the king of Spain maketh great preparations by ſea, both of ſhips and gallies, with purpoſe and intent to invade ſome part of this realm, as we have written our letter by her majeſties expreſs commandment both to the maritime and ſundry inland counties of the realm, to have all the horſe and foot in readineſs to withſtand the attempt of the enemy, with direction how the maritime counties ſhall be

be ſupplied out of other counties adjoining as occaſion ſhall require. So we have thought good likewiſe to give your lordſhip notice thereof. And do pray you to cauſe all the numbers of horſe and foot within the ſeveral counties in the principality of Wales (eſpecialy in the maritime counties) to be likewiſe in readineſs, as hath been in former times, and to ſee the beacons duly and carefully watched alongeſt the ſea coaſt, and meete places near the ſea coſte, better to diſcover any attempt, navie, or number of ſhips that may come towards any part of that coaſt, and to take ſpecial regard of Milford Haven, to which end you ſhall give directions that one of the deputy-lieutenants may be there in perſon, wherein praying your good lordſhippe to take preſent order: we bid, &c.

HAR-

HARLEAN MSS. 168. p. 146, b.

A letter to the Lord Cobham, Lieutenant of the county of Kent, requiring him to take order for the making of trenches upon thoſe places where the enemy is likelies to land.

1599. Her Majeſty by advice that comes from ſundry parts finding the intelligence your lordſhip hath heard of the Spaniſh preparations to be confirmed, and that it is greatly ſuſpected by the manner of their preparations, that correſpondence is held with his forces of the Low Countries, and by advertiſements and other reaſons, that he will attempt to land his forces either in the Downes, or at Margett; her majeſties pleaſure is, your lordſhip ſhall preſently ſend to Sir Thomas Wilford, being one of the deputy lieutenants for the Eaſt part, and to command him forthwith to conſider where and how ſome proviſion may be made by caſting up trenches, or any other way of impeachment, at their likeſt landing places, either in the Downes or at Margett, which may ſerve

alſo

alſo for defence of thoſe forces which ſhall be uſed againſt them, the performance whereof we pray your lordſhip to leave to his conſideration, ſo it be done with all expedition; and further as we doubt not but your lordſhip will have all the foot companies in readineſs, ſo beſides your ordinary horſe bands we pray your lordſhip to foreſee that the number of horſes may be inçreaſed, by moving the gentlemen to bring as many of their ſervants well horſed to ſuch place of rendezvous as ſhall be appointed. And thus, &c.

HARLEAN. MSS. 5844. p. 55.

Memorial of inſtructions for ſuch martial men, as ſhall be employed into the maritime coaſts.

For the better defence of the maritime counties, and avoyding of confuſion, upon any attempt to be made by the enemy. It is neceſſary to make choice of martial men, having ſkill in fortification and martial affairs, to be ſent down to conferr with the lieutenants or deputy lieutenants upon the points following, and to make report unto his majeſtie or the

lords of the councell, how they find the counties furniſhed, and put in order for defence.

Firſt, it is neceſſary to view the places of deſcent, and to conſider what ſconces or other kind of defences may be made to impeach the enemy, and how ſuch field-pieces as may be in the county already, or to be ſent down, or furniſhed by the country, may be employed for impeaching of the ſaid deſcent.

They having viewed the trained bands ſhall moove the lieutenants or deputies, to appoint ſome of the beſt bands that have the moſt ſkilful leaders, to make head to the enemy upon any ſuch deſcent, and ſhall alſo inſtruct them how and in what ſort they ſhall make head, and how they ſhall make retreat, in caſe the enemy ſhall ſet foot on land.

They ſhall alſo, having viewed the ground neare to the place of deſcent, make choice of fit places to retreat, to be re-inforced by pioners, whilſt the trayned bands be employed in impeaching the deſcent of the enemy, where

where it ſhall be meete to place ſome part of the ſtrength of the body of the ſhire to make head againſt the enemy.

They ſhall alſo conſider how the horſemen of the county may be employed to the beſt purpoſe to annoy the enemy. And therefore it is meete they ſhould be very well trayned; to which purpoſe they are to be adviſed to make choice of ſome men of ſkill, to traine them out of hand, and commandment to be given to the lieutenants, that ſuch as are bound to find horſes or geldings, during theſe times of danger, keep them in the ſtable.

That the lieutenants hazard not to fight with the enemy, otherwiſe than to impeach their deſcent, until they receive direction from his majeſty, or the lords of the councell how to govern themſelves. And therefore ſome ſecond place of retreat is to be thought on, in caſe the firſt ſhall be forced by the enemy.

To re-inforce the places of retreat, and for other good purpoſes to annoy and impeach the

enemy, the proportion of 100 pyoneers to every 1000 ſoldiers, is to be obſerved. And they are alſo to be reduced under captains, and every pioneer to be furniſhed with a ſkull and a black bill. To be captain of the pioneers, the high conſtable will be the fitteſt man, having ſome ſpecial gentleman appointed to be their collonell.

Places of aſſembly to be appointed near to the places of deſcent, whereunto upon the firing of any beacon, the trayned bands and other forces of the ſhire might repair. As alſo the pioneers to be ready at hand to be employed according to ſuch plotts as ſhall be ſett down by the ſaid martial men, upon conference with the lieutenants. To which end they are before-hand preſently to take an exact ſurvey of all grounds and paſſages, that with ſmall labour and induſtry may be made of uſe to ſtop the enemy. And in this caſe, if the numbers of pyoneers proportioned ſhall not be ſufficient for the work, that the countrie, being thereunto required by the lord lieutenants or deputy lieu-

lieutenants, ſend in as many others furniſhed, as ſhall be poſſible.

That none ſhall repaire to the places of aſſembly, but ſuch as by the lieutenants ſhall be appointed; and therefore it will be fit, that in all great towns, thoroughfares, and bridges, certain ſtanding watches be appointed to examine all paſſengers, and to ſuffer none to paſs, but ſuch as are of the known bands, and ſuch as ſhall have certain ſpecial marks to be agreed on by the lieutenants, whereby it may appear that they be of the number that ſhould repair to the ſaid places of aſſembly.

And for the better execution hereof, it ſhall be neceſſary that ſome diſcreet gentleman dwelling near the ſaid thoroughfares and paſſages, be appointed to have the overſight of the ſaid ſtanding watches, who are to have an eye to perſons doubtfull, leaſt they be employed by ill-affected ſubjects towards the enemy.

The

The licutenants according to former direction, to appoint captains to the reſt of the ſhire beſides the trayned bands, who are alſo to be exereiſed with ſuch arms as are to be found, and muſt be moved to provide drumms and enſigns, which will be ſome terror to the enemy, when he ſhall ſee the troops which are to make head againſt him are put in ſome martial order.

The captains of the trayned bands men would be perſuaded to entertayn ſome ſkilful lieutenants and ſarjeants, the charge whereof would be defrayed upon ſome public contribution; wherein the recuſants who do not anſwer to his majeſty, the penalty appointed by the ſtatute, would not be forgotten.

Some ſkilful men in matters of fortification would be procured from the Low Countries for directing the pyoneers, and diſtributed in the maritime counties to be uſed in caſe of neceſſity.

That as well the bands of pyoneers as ſoldiers have a proportion of victuals for * days, and

and carriages appointed for conveying the ſame from place to place. For execution thereof ſome ſpecial perſons would be appointed to have the charge and overſight hereof.

Some carriages to be appointed for mattocks, ſhovells, pick-axes, and other like tools meete for pyoneers; and becauſe it will be neceſſary beſides pyoneers to uſe divers artificers, as ſmiths, carpenters, and wheelwrights, it is meete that in every band of pyoneers, ſome ſuch artificers be placed.

That competent forces be aſſigned for defence of the coaſt of Eſſex. And that beſides the defence already made for Harwich, there be muſtered and enrolled 200 able men out of the towns next adjoining, beſides the proper forces of that place, to repair thither upon an hours warning for defence of the ſame, untill the greater forces appointed thither may come. The ſaid 200 men to be armed and fedd by the town, and conducted by ſome ſelected perſons.

That

That to ſuch principal commanders, as ſhall be ſent into the maritime counties, certain experienced captains be adjoined, to the number of 8 or 10, to each principal commander.

HARLEAN MS. 6844. p. 58.

MINUTES OF COUNCIL, 1558.

Letter to the Lord Mayor to enquire and certifie what ſtore of powder remains in the hands of particular perſons within the city of London.

The directions to the maritime counties, for withſtanding the landing of an enemy. and what aſſiſtance ſhall be ſent to their ſuccours from the adjoining counties, to be reſolved on, that letters may be prepared.

The return of the certificates of the trayned bands in all counties to be haſtened for the perfecting of this propoſition.

To

To conſider what experienced perſons ſhall be ſent, to view the places of deſcent, and have the conduct and ordering of ſuch forces, as ſhall be aſſigned for defence of thoſe places.

Orders to be given for the commiſſion, touching maintenance of ſtallions and mares for breed, and gelding for ſervice.

L. Ruſſel's propoſitions touching horſe in Devonſhire to be conſidered.

Propoſitions in 1588, *over and above thoſe things in which there is order now given.*

To ſee how the forces who are to repair to the places of deſcent for withſtanding the landing of the enemy, may be covered from the ſhot of the enemy with trenches or parapetts.

To make ditches and pitts where the landing is eaſy.

To plant ſharp ſtakes deep in the ground.

To have ſome field pieces and munition with victuals and carriages.

The horſes to be kept in the ſtable.

And beſides the horſe that are reduced into band, to have the horſes of the gentlemen with their retinue in readineſs.

The horſe as well as the arms of the recuſants, to be ſequeſtred into the hands of perſons well affected.

Upon firing of the beacons. to beware of confuſed repair to the ſea coaſts, but to places of rendezvous

None to ſtirr but the appointed numbers without direction.

Strong watches to be placed and kept at all bridges, paſſages and thoroughfares.

Turn-

Turnpikes to be ſet up in ſuch places.

The captains of the trayned companies not to be abſent.

To know what martial experienced men are in the ſeveral counties,

It was alſo propounded that private captains ſhould have under their command only one ſort of weapon.

*An * Abſtract of the Certificates returned from the Lieutenants of the able, trained, and furniſhed men, in the ſeveral counties upon letters from the Lords, reduced into bands under captains, and how they were ſuited with weapons, in April, Ann. Dom.* 1588.

County of SUSSEX.	Men.			Corſ.	Bows.	Bills.		
Sir Thomas Palmer -	334	100 Cal. 60 Muſ.		100	30	44		
Thomas Leukenor -	167	60 30		50	15	22		
Thomas Stanny - -	167	60 30		50	15	22		
Thomas Biſhopp - -	167	60 30		50	15	22	Calivers	300
Henry Shelley - -	167	60 30		50	15	22	Muſk.	600
							Corſ.	600
Nicholas Parker - -	167	60 30		50	15	22	Bows	180

Trained, 2004	John Lonford - - -	167	60	50	15	22	Bills 264
			30				
	John Culpepper - -	167	60	50	15	22	2004
			30				
	Walter Covert - -	167	60	50	15	22	
			30				
	Richard Shelley - -	167	60	50	15	22	
			30				
	Adam Aſhburnham -	167	60	50	15	22	
			30				
		2004					

Able Men 7572

Suſſex furniſhed 4005

Proviſions

Powder -	400
Match -	100
Bullets -	480
Pioneers -	50
Carts - -	8
Nags - -	100

* I have given the firſt county exactly as in the original, to ſhew the form in which they are preſerved; but all the others are abridged, and their amount collected into one view.

County of SUSSEX, *continued.*

		Men.	Shot.	Corſ.	Bows.	Bills.
Untrained	Sir Thomas Palmer -	331	104 Cal. 100 Muſ.	60	20	10
	Thomas Leukener -	167	24 20	16	83	25
	Thomas Stanny - -	167	23 20	25	35	25
	Thomas Biſhopp - -	167	30 30	70	40	25
	Henry Shelley - -	167	30 10	40	50	31
	Walter Covert - -	167	30 10	30	20	12

Cal.	682
Muſk.	237
Corſ.	282
Bow;	588

Richard Shelley - -	167	01 05	00	60	29	Bills	212
Nicholas Parker - -	176	90 40	00	60	20		2001
John Lonford - - -	167	40 20	00	60	17		
John Culpepper - -	167	58 10	00	100	17		
Adam Aſhburnham -	167	90 23	01	40	13		
	2001						

Horſemen,	Launces	200	Captain * *
	Light Horſe	204	Captain * *
	Petronels	030	Capt. Anthony Shelley.

An

An Abſtract of the Number of every Sort of Armed Men, in the counties through the Kingdom, taken Anno 1588.

Counties.	Able Men.	Armed.	Trained.	Un-trained.	Pioneers.	Launces.	Light Horſe.	Petro-nels.
Suſſex	7572	4005	2004	2001	50	20	204	30
Surrey	8552	1892	1500	372	200	8	98	29
Barkſhire	3120	1900	1000	900	115	10	95	2
Oxford	4504	1164		120	30	30	150	40
Glouceſter	14000	4000	3000	1000	300	20	180	35
Eſſex	6340	4000	2000	2000	600		200	
Northampton	1240	1240	600	640	80	50	80	
Southampton		2478	806	1672	1000	20		374
Norfolk	6340	4400	2300	2100		80	82	55
Suffolk		4239	2000	2239		80	230	84
Kent	18866	7124	2958	4166	1077	70	230	
Lancaſhire		3359	1170			64	265	
Cheſhire		2189	2189			30	50	91

Lincoln	6400	2150	1500	630	630	20	50	37

Lincoln	6400	2150	1500	630	630	20	50	37
Dorſet		3330	1500	1800		23	130	
Devonſhire	10000	6200	3660	2550	600	120		22
Derbyſhire	1600	1000	400	600	60		150	26
Stafford	1900	1000	400	600	100	8	50	20
Buckingham	2850	600	600		600	8	50	
Cornwall	17600	3600	1500	2100		4	96	
Somerſet	12000	4000	4000		1000	50	250	60
Wiltſhire	7400	2400	1200	1200		15	100	10
Cambridge	1000	1000	500	500		14	40	80
Huntingdon		400	400		9	19	65	
Middleſex		10000	5000	5000		20	60	
Hertfordſhire		3000	1500	1500	200	20	60	
Nottingham	2800	1000	400	600	100	20	60	20
London	17883	10000	6000	4000				20
Leiceſter	6400	2150						
Total of the Engliſh ſhires certified,	158367	93779	44731	35990	7133	823	2823	503

The

The Abſtract of the numbers of every ſort of Armed Men in the Marches of Wales, and the Engliſh Shires annexed.

Counties.	Able Men.	Armed.	Trained.	Un-trained.	Pioneers.	Launces.	Light Horſe.	Petro-nels.
Salop		1200	600	600	700	28	70	
Denbigh	1200	600	400	200	160		30	100
Flintſhire		300	200	100	200		3	30
Caermarthen		704	300	400	300		15	10
Radnor	1500	400	200	200	100		14	
Angleſea	1120	1120			100		17	
Worceſter			600		100	17	83	10
Montgnmery		600	300	300	50	1	19	30
Pembroke		800	800	800	396			30
		6324	3400	1900	2106	47	351	100
Sum Total	162187	105827	18147	37889	9213	870	3078	678

Hence

Hence it appears, that the numbers actually armed at this time were 105,827. Beſides the forces upon the Borders and the forces of Yorkſhire, reſerved to anſwer the ſervices Northward, which were 40,000 foot and near 10,000 horſe, and ſundry ſhires which are not certified. —The Marquis of Wincheſter furniſhed 4037 men, and the Earl of Suſſex, 2678;—and we have a very numerous liſt of nobility and others, who raiſed bodies at their own expence, the numbers of which are not ſpecified, only in general terms, that they amounted to *ſeveral thouſands, horſe and foot.*

It is by ſimilar exertions, that a ſiſter-kingdom has proved competent to her own defence, and perhaps been no leſs ſucceſsful in preſerving her property from foreign inroads, than from home-born-oppreſſion.—The ſpirit, the unanimity, the unconquerable ardour, which animated the Aſſociators of Ireland, merited ſomething more than domeſtic ſecurity.—Glorying

rying in the cauſe of freedom, their views were enlarged beyond all partial emolument, and in the glorious ſatisfaction of emancipating the commerce of their country, Public Virtue met its firſt reward in the Public Good.

FINIS.

BL